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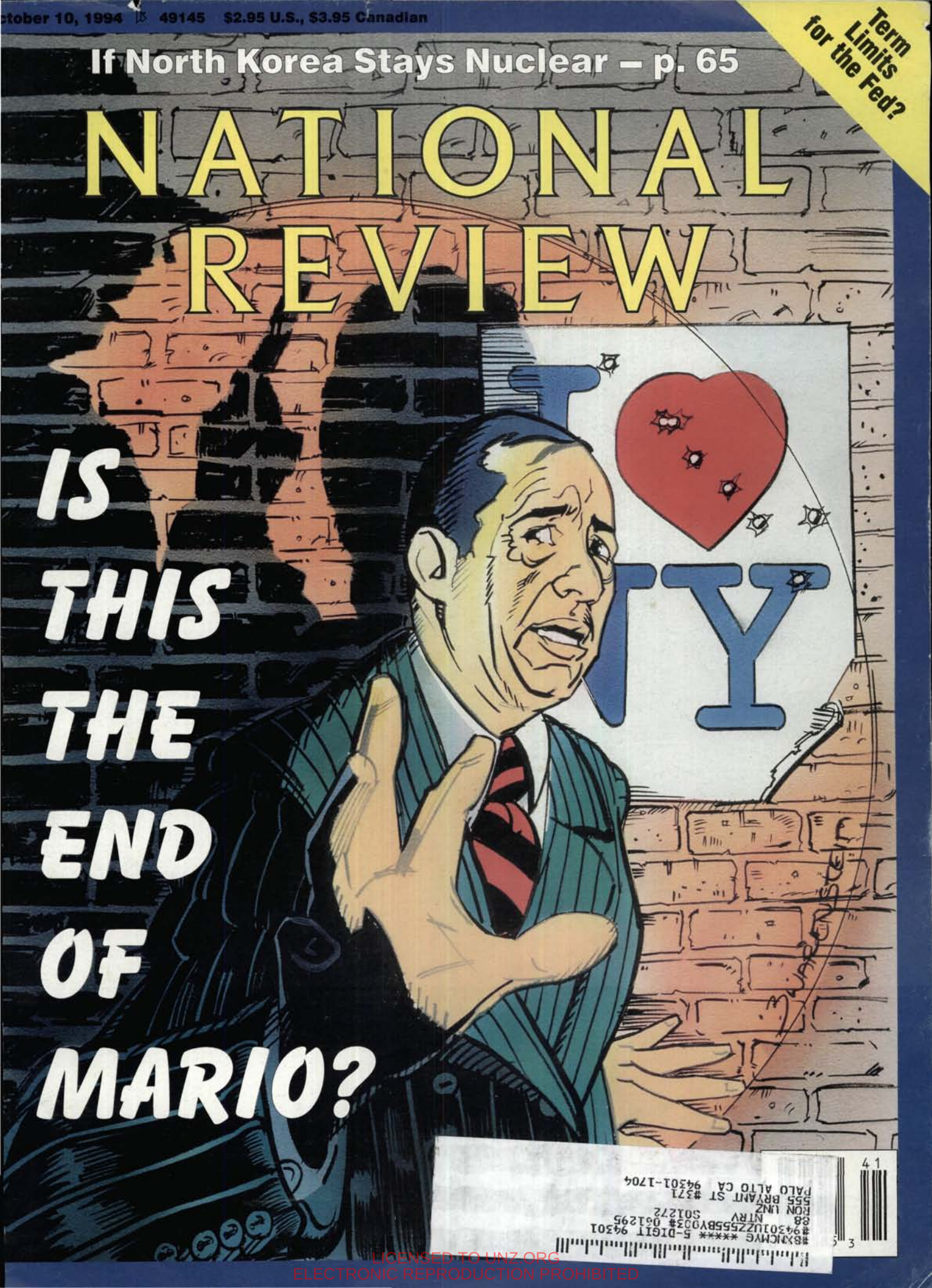
If North Korea Stays Nuclear – p. 65

Term Limits for the Fed?

NATIONAL REVIEW



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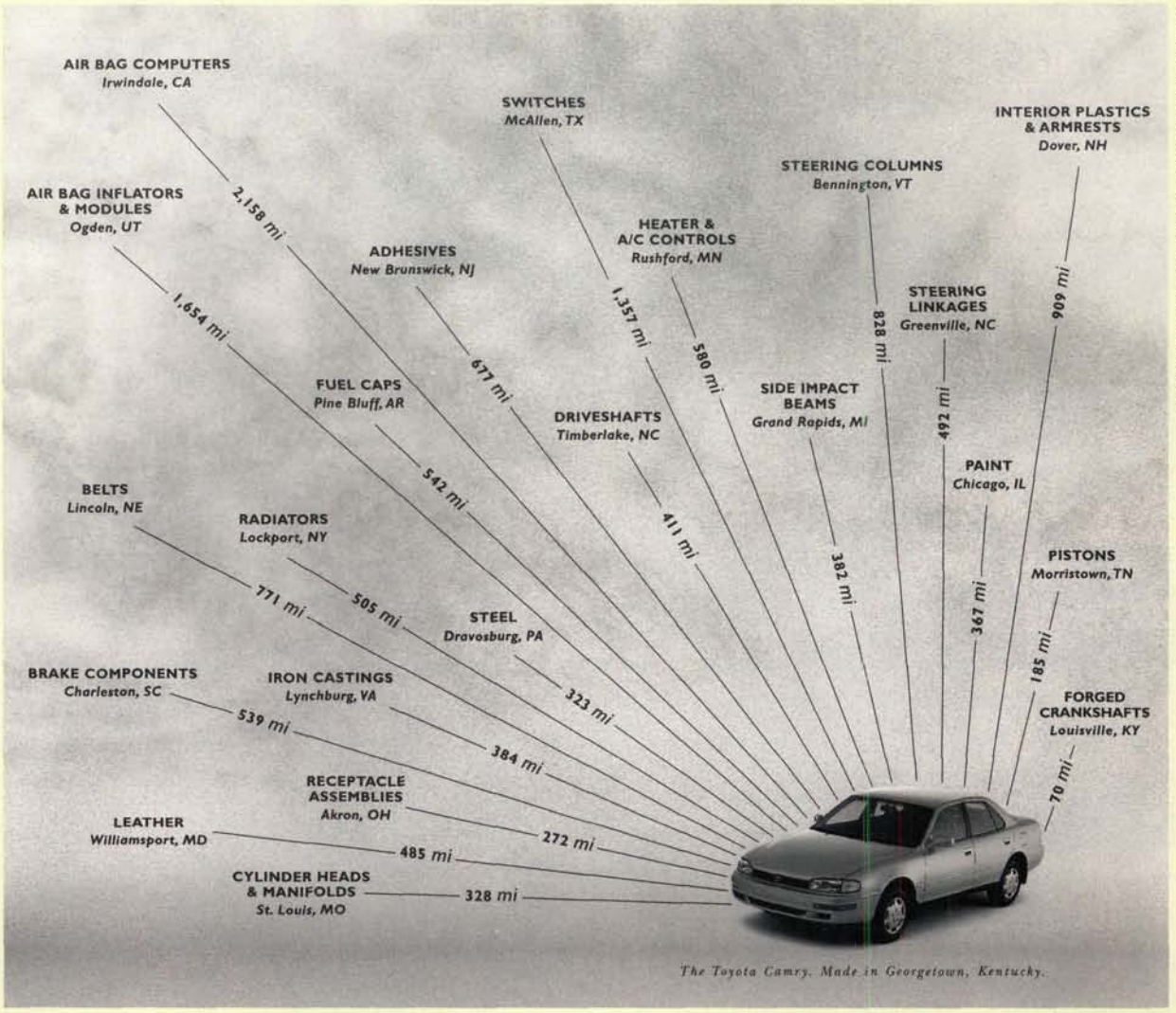

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NATIONAL REVIEW

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Letters

Eek! Sob! A Comic Dispute!

I was amazed to see Li'l Abner among the down-on-their-luck cartoon characters on the cover of your August 29 issue, under the caption "The Decline and Fall of American Comics."

Surely you must be aware that Li'l Abner and Daisy Mae from Dog Patch, USA, now reside at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., Washington, D.C. "Decline and Fall"? Get real!

George J. Burger
Reno, Nev.

Granted, Anthony Lejeune is correct that the "funnies" are not as funny as they used to be. But they're also not in some cases as silly as they used to be. For that matter, life is not as funny as it used to be. Or such is the perception.

By and large, comics are by no means in as dull and politicized a state as Mr. Lejeune makes them out to be. Consider, for instance, three widely run strips: *For Better or for Worse*, *The Far Side*, and *Calvin and Hobbes*, which I single out among several others.

For Better or for Worse is a warm strip that holds a mirror up to solid family life. What could possibly be reprehensible about a kid who is getting ready for his first year in college and who, with his father, is searching for a suitable roommate on the campus of his choice? By the way, he finds—and rejects—a scruffy bearded wonder of a superannuated punk-rocker. Too, the rambunctious child of the family, April, is both charming and typical.

Or take *Calvin and Hobbes*. These characters would be insulted (though one of them is stuffed) by some of Lejeune's dour observations. This strip is a jolly, well-drafted exercise in childish fantasy and pre-teen pranksterism.

Look, we "can't go home again." So, Casper Milquetoast has given way to Casper the Ghost, and Cathy tends to be a lefthanded, dieting repeat of herself day after day. But is this a calamity? Even *Doonesbury*, despite or because of its liberal tinge, occasionally conveys a sense of D.C. indecency and media-cracy that is both vital and true.

Albert L. Weeks
Sarasota, Fla.

I was puzzled by your story on comics until I realized it was written by your *London* correspondent. Were he based here, he'd know that the picture isn't so bleak. His old favorites may be gone, but once again, the market worked—robust competition has provided plenty of refreshing new strips:

The birds in Jeff MacNelly's *Shoe* [see below] regularly skewer the excesses of Congress. *Curious Avenue* features an eager-to-be-liked child named Bill who pursues popularity by promising other children gifts, and bears a distressing resemblance to our 42nd President. My favorite, *Non Sequitur,* tackles subjects like government-run facilities, bureaucracy, and the damage lawyers do.

John Stossel
20/20
New York, N.Y

I was pleased to read Anthony Lejeune's article, confirming my own anxieties over the art form. I know of few others who share my worry, which is a bit scary. How much further will the decline go before, if ever, it is widely noticed?

I credit no small measure of my conservatism to one fondly remembered comic strip of my youth: *Li'l Abner*. Sunday mornings spent with the color pages were to me a mini Christmas once a week. Unfortunately the only paper carrying *Li'l Abner* in our area was the *Newark Evening News*. A strike around 1969 closed that paper forever—and Al Capp's marvelous gift along with it. From then on I could only glimpse *Li'l Abner* in an occasional historical reference, each glimpse a sad obituary. I have since been suspicious of all labor unions and everything associated with them.

It is surprising, however, that Mr. Lejeune makes no mention of one notable blight on the funny page: Jim Davis's *Garfield*. The history of *Garfield* is nearly the history of the American comic strip in a nutshell. It started out not much better artistically than the other sets of talking heads in the late 1970s, but it was genuinely funny slapstick. Has anyone noticed how depressing *Garfield* is now? I mean Poe's-raven depressing, one claustrophobic trapped-in-this-frame skit after another, its early supporting characters disappearing like Stalin's cronies. Even my young nephew won't read it. Maybe Mr. Lejeune doesn't either. I can't blame him.

A minor correction, if I may. Mr. Lejeune's recollection of that *Peanuts* episode of Linus and his candle, though correct in spirit, is not quite verbatim. Linus is quoted: ". . . it is better to light one small candle than to rail against the darkness. Of course, there are always some who will disagree," then Lucy raging alone: "You naughty darkness!" I instead recall Linus saying, "It is better to light one small candle than to curse the darkness." It is Charlie Brown who notes Lucy's dissent. (Whom else would Linus talk to? Not his sister Lucy—she'd *Pow!* him.) And doesn't Lucy conclude with, "Curse you, darkness!"?

SHOE JEFF MacNELLY
I'M PROUD TO SAY THAT TODAY WE TOOK A VOTE THAT WILL MAKE AMERICA A FREER PLACE...
IF ONLY FOR A SHORT WHILE...
THEY VOTED TO ADJOURN.
MACNELLY 8/22

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That was a long time ago, though. Perhaps my memory is at fault. Or did the unions get you too, Mr. Lejeune?

W. Mitchell Morgan
Ellisville, Miss.

I didn't say, or mean to imply, that today's sit-com strips were ideologically ojectionable, merely anemic. Calvin and Hobbes *is, I know, affectionately regarded: it just seems to me rather slight. In general, though, readers' comments on my article tend to confirm its argument. There has been an element of politicization, mildly leftish, on even the mainstream comic pages. Undeniably, too, the drawings, like the jokes, have become minimalist; what is there now to compare with Alex Raymond's superb* Flash Gordon*? Most importantly, there is, to the best of my knowledge, nothing remotely like* The Captain and the Kids *or* Li'l Abner*; the combination of charm, fantasy, and (in the case of* L'il Abner*) quite complex story-telling which they exemplified has gone.*

Innocent, by present standards, they may have been but they were hardly unsophisticated, unless sophistication is defined only in terms of the slyness and innuendo that characterize so much modern popular entertainment. As Mr. Morgan suggests, the widespread failure to notice or to lament such manifest decline—on the comic pages or in Hollywood—is depressing and disturbing.

I may well have got the details of Lucy's railing against the darkness wrong; I was quoting from memory—and the fact that we can spontaneously quote, or even misquote, a strip after so long must surely be a tribute to Schulz's artistry and wisdom. One cannot expect to get everything absolutely right. "In this life, Charlie Brown," said Lucy, "you win some and you lose some."

"That would be grand," he replied. Or something like that. —AL

Editor's note: The letters printed here are a small sampling of the avalanche of mail Mr. Lejeune's article has provoked.

Conservative Convict

I am a conservative federal prisoner—perhaps the only one in existence. Add to that the fact that I am 23 years of age, and you have a rare bird indeed.

As a convicted armed bank robber, I would like to make it known, in corroboration of Bryan R. Johnson's argument ["Concealed Weapons," Sept. 26], that criminals don't register weapons or buy them legally. Will the "assault weapons" law work? No, not at all. Any gun ban makes it harder for law-abiding citizens to defend themselves from criminals. The "assault weapons" ban will drive black-market prices up, and that is about the only good it will do.

For those who loved NAFTA . . . Look at the *Federal Register* and you'll find thousands of firms applying for NAFTA-TAA (Trade Adjustment Assistance), a form of welfare. Maybe "HillBillary" will "retrain" me when I get out and give me a cushy public-sector job. I can hear them now—"You poor dear, you're a victim."

I'll be out in 8 months. What do you all think of a 57-month sentence for armed bank robbery? Blame it on the U.S. Sentencing Commission. If federal judges still had their Article III powers, His Honor, Graham C. Mullen, could have given me up to 25 years.

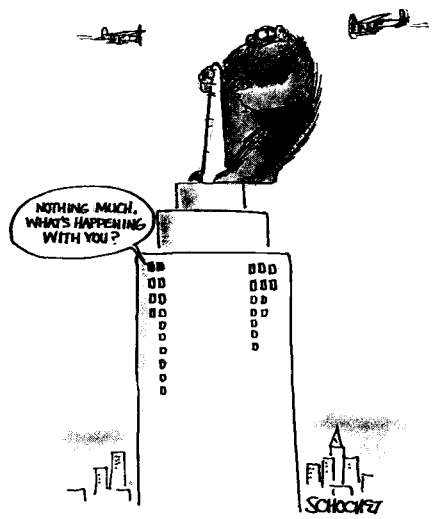
Lock 'em up and throw away the key is the only answer to the crime produced by thirty years of social engineering.

A Conservative Prisoner
Oakdale, La.

Health Care No Export Commodity

As a medical historian in a country where nationalized health care is generally accepted, I was quite interested in Lawrence Kudlow and Stephen Moore's "Physicians Heal Themselves" [Sept. 26]. I would like to point out some critical differences between the United States and Europe, which make the European model most dubious for your country.

In Europe the physician receives high respect and trust. Malpractice suits are almost unknown, not because medical errors are not made, but because they are generally believed to have been made in good faith. The Danish people are ethnically and culturally homogeneous and share a high degree of social discipline and a rigorous work and education ethic. We have a very stable society, and we are willing to accept termination of expensive medical treatment, such as kidney dialysis, after a certain age for the greater social good.



With high social discipline, market discipline may not be as necessary in Denmark as it is in the United States. Exploiting the national-health-insurance system for one's personal gain is not unknown here, but it is condemned and kept to a minimum. We know that where social discipline, unreinforced by market discipline, breaks down, as in parts of the former Soviet Union, nationalized medical care may degrade rapidly.

If you will forgive me for saying so, none of the conditions that make the Danish system acceptable seem to exist in the United States. With all respect for your love of freedom, the U.S. is surely the least disciplined country in the world. The work ethic would degrade rapidly if it were not supported by financial incentives. The American education ethic is not nearly as strong as it once was. You do not have low starting costs to build on, as we did fifty years ago; on the contrary, personnel and equipment costs are very high. Physicians in the United States do not routinely receive psychological rewards such as respect, admiration, and the trust of their community in compensation for low income. Malpractice suits are rife in your country, with entire specialties of lawyers making their living from alleging doctor's errors. Your legal system promotes disagreement rather than social peace. There is neither ethnic not cultural homogeneity in the United States. Again, with great respect for your extraordinary social processes, it is also true that you are the least predictable society on earth.

For all these reasons, an approach that maximizes market discipline for consumers and doctors is much better suited to American life. Medical savings accounts and vouchers encourage consumer and provider discipline. Medicine does not live in a social vacuum, and your existing system, which is very advanced in many ways, is crucially dependent on market incentives. Rather than adopting a foreign model, it makes more sense to build on your strengths. Frankly, I believe that copying a Danish or German system of national helath insurance might be catastrophic in the United States. I say this sincerely, with admiration for your cultural creativity and adaptability. The social differences are just too great to export our system to yours and expect it to work.

E. H. Johansen, M.D.
Ministry of Health
Copenhagen

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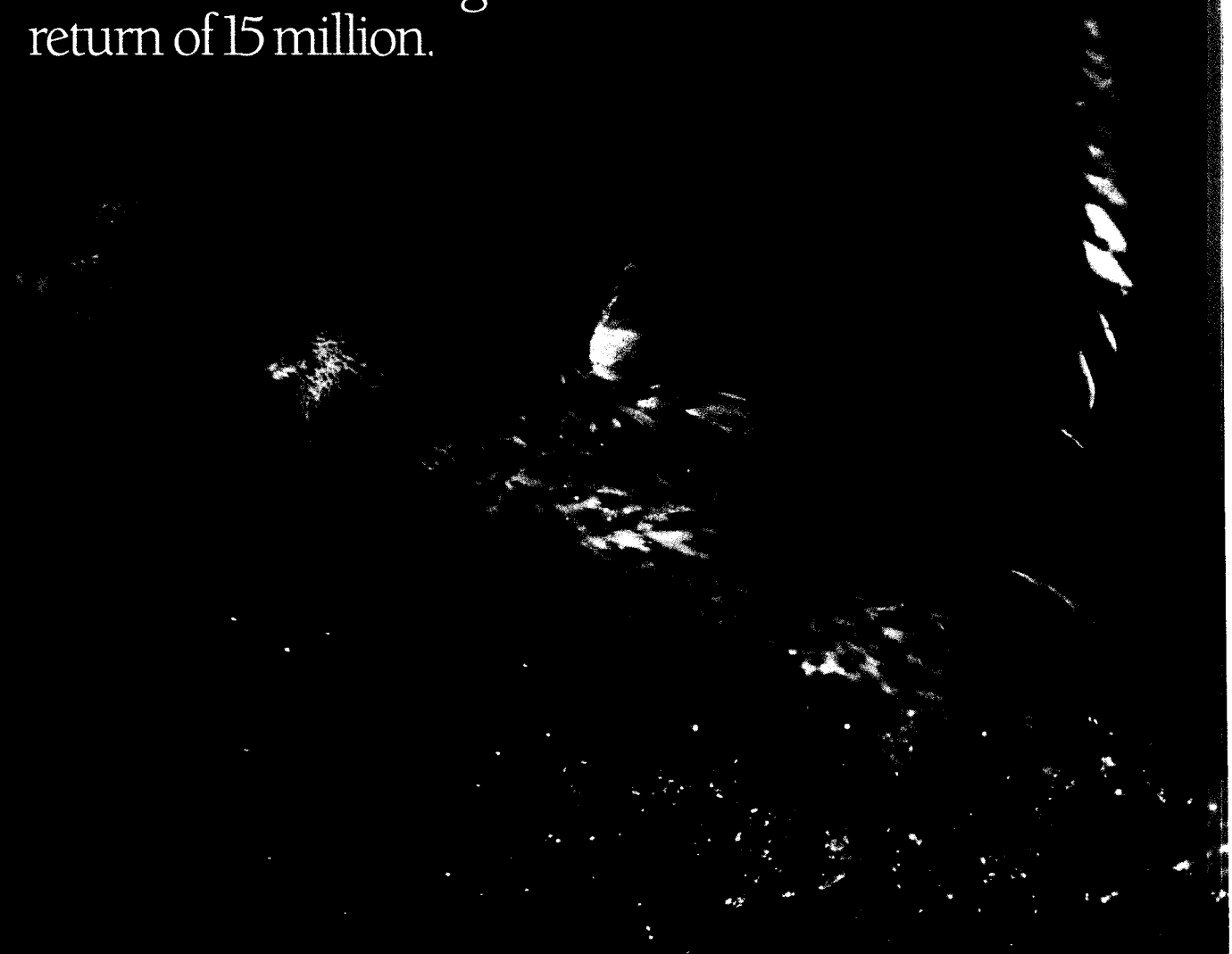

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FROM THE EDITOR

The Uses of Power

■ So Mr. Clinton's Haiti policy has "succeeded." That is to say, the threat of a U.S. invasion persuaded the Haitian junta to make way for a left-wing anti-American priest-politician of uncertain honesty, balance, and attachment to democracy.

Thus the episode confirms the three principles of American diplomacy as revealed here in May 1990:

1. We cannot pursue our interests if they conflict with our principles.

2. We can pursue our principles only if they conflict with our interests.

3. Our principles and our interests never coincide.

■ At the White House shortly before the D-Day commemoration, President Clinton gave posthumous medals to the families of two soldiers killed in Somalia. But when he offered his hand, one father declined to shake it. He denounced the President, blaming him for his son's death.

Whether or not one sympathizes with Mr. Clinton on this occasion—and he seems to have been sympathetic to his critic—this was a newsworthy event. When President Nixon was lectured on the Vietnam War by a guest at a White House reception, it was front-page news everywhere.

The mainstream press, however, carried no report of this incident. Nothing at all. It did not want to embarrass the President. It was left to the London *Sunday Times* and Rush Limbaugh to retrieve the story from Liberaldom's memory hole.

Should another G.I. be murdered in Haiti and his father make a similar protest, the press would not remain silent again. Indeed, if the first incident had been reported, the President might not be risking a repetition. So, our masters repeat mistakes which a solicitous press has kept from respectable eyes.

■ The current *New York Review of Books* has the following revelation from Garry Wills:

"One of his [i.e. Clinton aide Bruce Lindsey's] duties during the campaign was to tell flight attendants on the campaign plane that it would be better if they did not take up the candidate's request that they work out with him at the Little Rock YWCA. As recently as this March he was still calling one flight attendant, to discourage her from repeating her conversations with Clinton. Sample icebreakers from Clinton at a time when he was trying to live down the Flowers allegations: 'Oh, I could get lost in those blue eyes . . .'

Mr. Wills cites a *Washington Post* profile of Bruce Lindsey (July 7th) in which a flight attendant alleges both Mr. Clinton's advances and Mr. Lindsey's warnings, which the loyal Mr. Lindsey "does not remember issuing."

These reports are, on the face of it, mildly scandalous; yet they have generated no scandal. There has been neither the avalanche of moral (and prurient) outrage that followed David Brock's allegations; nor the counterattack on "tabloid sleaze" by Mr. Clinton's journalistic defenders.

In part, this is doubtless because the *Washington Post* and the *New York Review of Books* are bastions of liberal journalism. Like the saint so holy that alcohol turned to water on his lips, these journals transform tabloid sleaze into investigative journalism merely by publishing it.

But the deeper reason is that—what with Gennifer Flowers, Paula Jones, and now flight attendants—Mr. Clinton has become almost a symbol of promiscuity. His admirers no longer deny this. Instead, they accept the fact, report its occasional symptoms, and carry on regardless. In nine months, we have gone from "That, Sir, is a monstrous calumny" to "Hey, what's all the fuss about?"

Someone once said that the best way to keep something secret was to stamp it "Press Release." Maybe the best way to suppress a scandal is to report it in the press. Provided you do so often, loudly, and as a matter of course.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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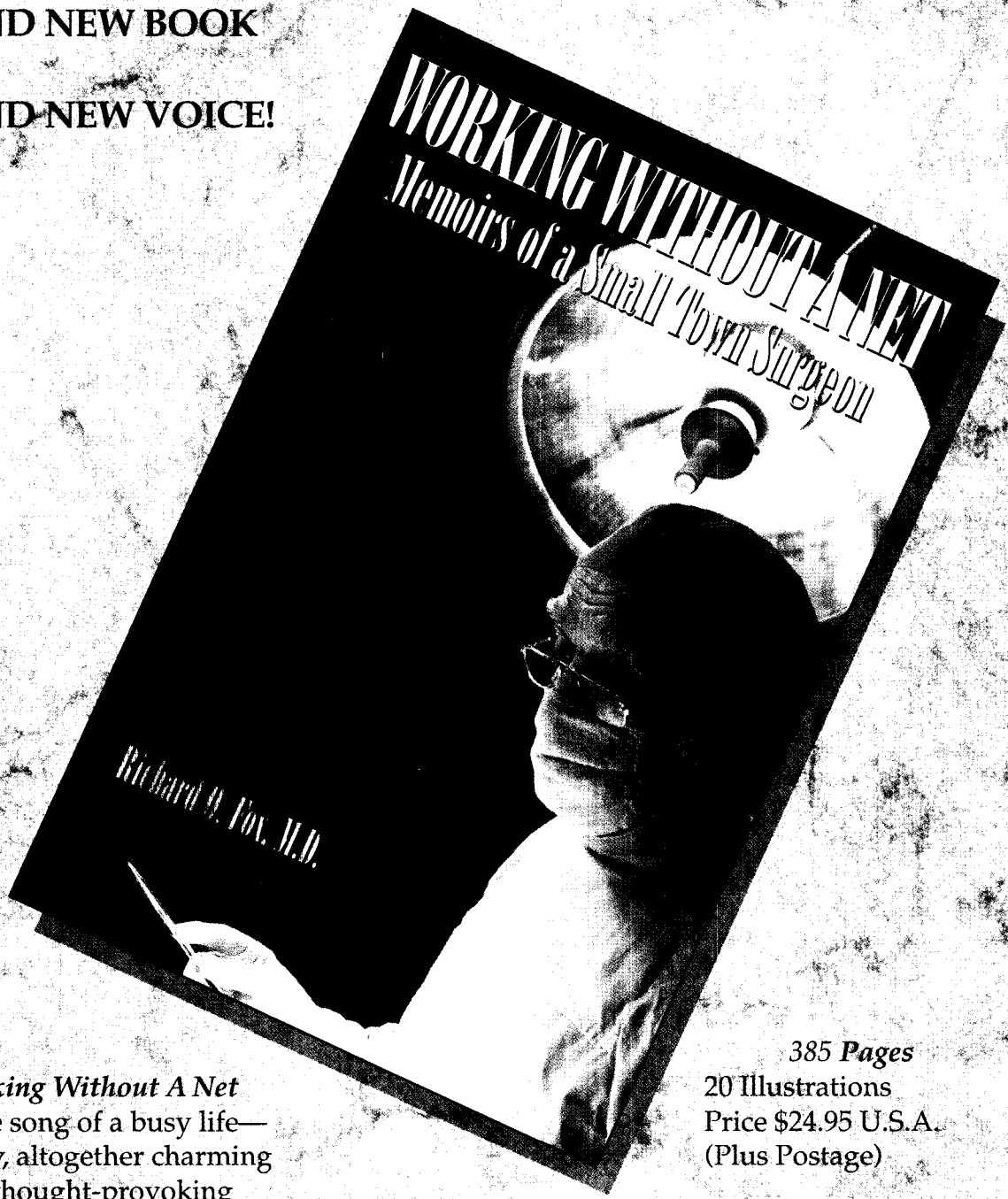

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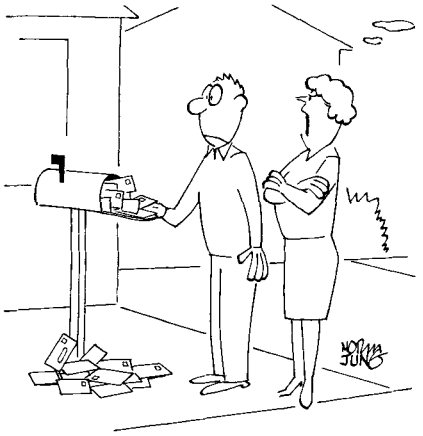
FOR THE RECORD

■ Forget talk of big GOP gains, says former Rep. **Tony Coelho** (D., Calif.). Democrats' overlord for '94 congressional races says losses will be 18 to 22 House seats and only 3 Senate seats, for "a normal off-year election." . . . But Democratic consultant **Saul Schorr** says talks with his clients remind him of war scenes in *Gone with the Wind*. "It's like I'm in the middle of Atlanta with all those bodies, and all I hear is moaning. When I get on conference calls with people I haven't talked to for a while . . . they say, 'Disaster.'" And Democratic pollster **Alan Secrest** says party's real problem is that **Bill Clinton** "is presently seen as somewhere to the left of **Fidel Castro**." . . . Behind Democrats' fears were mid-September polls for party's big names. Texas Gov. **Ann Richards** fell 2 points behind **George W. Bush**; Calif. Sen. **Dianne Feinstein**—thought to have regained fat lead over GOP Rep. **Michael Huffington**—is now back in tight race; and Calif. GOP Gov. **Pete Wilson** is 9 points up on usually popular State Treasurer **Kathleen Brown**. Even **Ted Kennedy**—who recently called for women as Catholic priests—has only 6-point lead over upstart **Mitt Romney**. Also, N.Y. Gov. **Mario Cuomo** is now 10 points behind GOP State Sen. **George Pataki**. Pataki, who just endorsed term limits, is using "Too liberal for too long" as kicker on anti-Cuomo ads, on advice of consultant **Arthur Finkelstein** (who has used L-word to win other big races). . . . CNN's **William Schneider** says something's going on when Democrats' proven vote-getters are in this much trouble. According to Schneider—who used to compare Clinton's coalition-building skills to **FDR**'s—that "something" might be the Prez.

■ Overlooked thus far: possible emergence in '94 Senate class of counterbalance to pro-choice faction of GOP governors, **William Weld** (Mass.), Pete Wilson, and—most recent and saddest addition—**Christine Todd Whitman** (N.J.). Several pro-life GOP Senate hopefuls are doing well: **Ollie North** in Va., **John Ashcroft** in Mo., and Reps. **John Kyl** (Ariz.), **Michael DeWine** (Ohio), and **Rick Santorum** (Pa.). . . . Maryland GOP gubernatorial nominee **Ellen Sauerbrey**, who upset moderate-liberal Rep. **Helen Bentley** in primary by using **Reagan**esque tax-cut proposals, is also pro-life.

■ Health Care wind-up: **Phil Gramm**, chairman of National Republican Senatorial Committee, told Washington Press Club that four top GOP pollsters advised Senate leaders not to vigorously oppose ClintonCare because voters would see this as unduly negative. Gramm said, Spinach, and told them if he couldn't oppose socialized medicine "I'm just wasting my time in Washington, D.C." . . . Statist medicine's biggest backers, Reps. **Pete Stark** (D., Calif.) and **James McDermott** (D., Wash.), now say, Let's quit and try again next year. . . . Fallout continuing from GOP's initial defeat of crime bill in August. Black Caucus member **John Lewis** (D., Ga.) reveals why Clinton pleas for votes didn't get far. "He said, 'My Presidency is on the line. It's an emergency.' It's always that way with him. He's always saying 'These are the last days.'" . . . Unseen



"Let this be a lesson to you. Don't ever donate money to a political action committee!"

player in health, crime, and other fights is Family Research Council, run by former Reagan domestic-policy advisor **Gary Bauer**. Group's budget has gone from $2 to $8 million in two years with a quarter-million names on mailing list.

■ Ultra-liberal attitudinist **Anna Quindlen**—who endlessly chronicled her displeasure with the Catholic Church—is ending feminist reign on *N.Y. Times* op-ed page. Former *Times* art critic **Hilton Kramer**—now writing *N.Y. Times* watchdog column for *N.Y. Post*—gave a gleeful, Good riddance. Kramer says Sunday *Times* book review of Quindlen novel on same day as her departure announcement contained her journalistic epitaph: "The banality of the language is matched by the banality of the ideas it expresses." . . . Civil War historian **Shelby Foote**, a cult hero after his appearances on PBS's Civil War series, directing some of his celebrated gravitas at Sen. **Carol Moseley-Braun** (D., Ill.). Foote told C-Span's **Brian Lamb** on *Booknotes* that Braun is fleeing history by trying to thwart congressional approval of Stars and Bars on logo of Confederate women's association.

■ International terrorist **Carlos**, now in French prison, may face first trial in civil suit filed by victims of 1974 Paris bombing that killed 2 and injured 34. . . . Rivals for French presidency concentrating on disaster management. Prime Minister **Edouard Balladur**—riding high in polls—visited Africa to deal with Rwanda crisis, and Paris Mayor **Jacques Chirac** has announced plans to end city's famous traffic jams. . . . Switzerland's legalized drugs and splendid isolation turning out not so legal nor splendid, reports *London Observer*' **Edward Luce**. Gang wars and street violence in Zurich's drug ghetto causing burnt-out police cars and a corpse a week. . . . Reports of Red Chinese M-11 missiles in Pakistan has State Dept. on lookout for Peking missile technicians. Sanctions will follow, State threatens.

■ **Sally E. Smith**, executive director of 5,000-member National Association to Advance Fat Acceptance, has denounced Clinton ("particularly since his weight has so often been the focus of media attention") for "unresponsiveness to the concerns of fat people."

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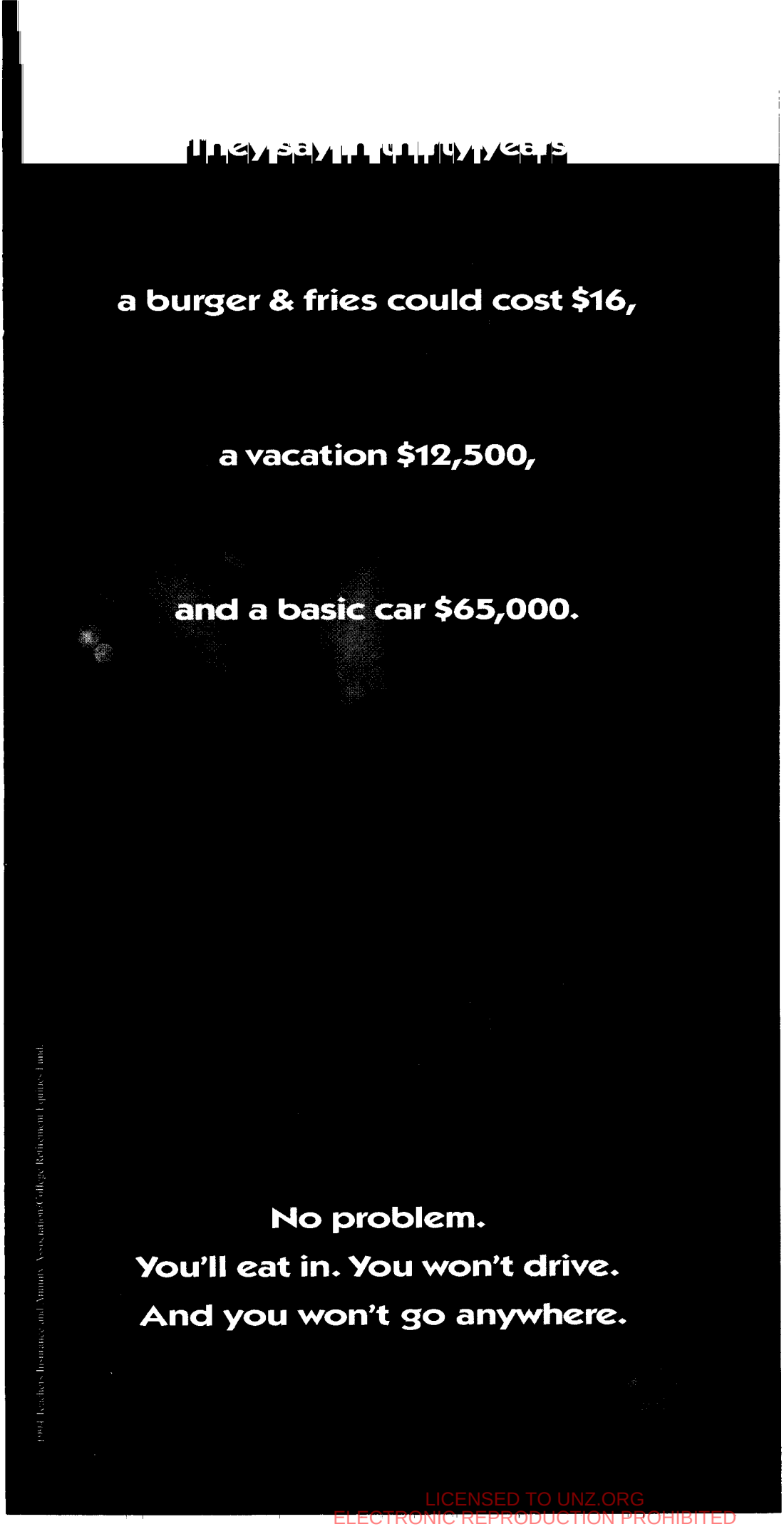
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THE WEEK

■ Let's hope nothing happens to Jimmy Carter, with Bill Clinton just a heartbeat away from the Presidency.

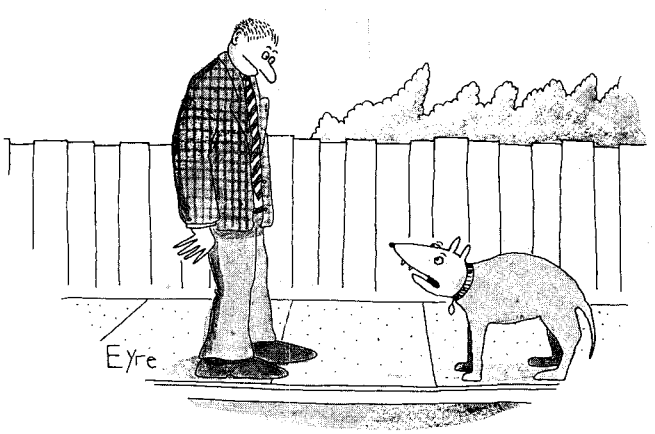
■ The Christian Coalition held its fifth annual "Road to Victory" convention in Washington September 16 and 17. Attending were three thousand activists from around the country, eager to dismantle the Democratic Congress and Clinton Presidency. By November 8 the Coalition plans to have distributed millions of voters' guides, and its members will have given something equivalent in time and sweat. Testimony to their clout was the line-up of presidential aspirants courting them: Dan Quayle, Phil Gramm, Lamar Alexander, Bob Dole (in the person of his wife, Elizabeth), and Dick Cheney. (Jack Kemp didn't attend because of a scheduling conflict.) Originally a narrowly focused movement of evangelical Protestants, the Religious Right has become less sectarian and more sophisticated, cooperating with like-minded Catholics and Jews in the broad church of moral conservatism. Some of its aims make other conservatives uneasy, and are probably unattainable in the present state of American society. But its leaders have been prepared to concentrate on those social and family issues where they enjoy wider support; and its rank-and-file have brought a new energy to the conservative coalition. If at this point it seems hard to imagine Republicans leading the grass-roots revolt against the failings of our culture, the "Road to Victory" raises a second possibility: maybe, at least, they'll follow.

■ Former Virginia governor and maverick Democrat Douglas Wilder dropped out of the Virginia Senate race, recognizing that the poll numbers and the money just weren't there. So when will Senator John Warner encourage his instrument, maverick Republican Marshall Coleman, to recognize the same reality? Mr. Coleman cannot possibly win, so his only function is to sabotage the Republican nominee, Oliver North. Senator Warner disapproves of Mr. North and his Religious Right supporters. Fair enough. But Virginia Republicans disagreed with him. If Mr. Warner's contumacy prevents the GOP from winning the Senate this November, that will remove the last incentive for them to re-elect him thereafter.

■ Hillary has been missing all week. Concern for her safety grew when she failed to appear leading the invasion of Haiti.

■ When Mayor Giuliani of New York was photographed beaming like a pleased puppy as President Clinton signed the Crime Bill, speculation went around in Gotham. Maybe, after pacifying his conservative constituents with his bans on subway panhandling and squeegee men, Rudolph Giuliani would now show his true liberal colors. It seems, however, that his enthusiastic support of the Crime Bill was the exception to the rule. In his drive to reintroduce civilization to the Big Apple, the mayor is now going after porn shops, which have spread like some disgusting social disease from their traditional quarters in Times Square to quiet residential neighborhoods as far afield as Queens and Staten Island. By an ingenious use of zoning rules, Mr. Giuliani plans to squeeze almost all of them into a few desolate areas far from anyone's home: out by the airport, down by the docks. In a redeemed world there would be no interest in pornography; but given the state of human nature, there's something civilized, if not moral, about Red Light districts. At least they keep sin out of sight of those not in search of it.

■ "Arrests in New York Are Said to Cripple a Huge Drug Gang," announced the front-page headline in the *New York Times*. The story described the arrest of Arsenio Diaz, "the biggest drug dealer in upper Manhattan, and one of the biggest in New York City." Mr. Diaz was indicted along with 63 employees in "the second largest drug case ever brought" by the Manhattan district attorney. The indictments, which "brought an end to an efficient, $1-million-a-week operation," were "the culmination of a 16-month undercover operation." Yet in the ninth paragraph we are told: "As with other prominent Manhattan drug gangs that have been



"I'm not a mutt! I'm a post-modern hound!"

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knocked down in recent years . . . law enforcement officials proclaimed a victory in the war on drugs but could not say that it would affect the price or availability of drugs on the street." Well, as long as we're winning.

■ Interior Secretary Henry Cisneros says his mistress's lawsuit is intended merely to wreck his political career, and Agriculture Secretary Mike Espy has hired an "ethics trainer" to teach him not to accept expensive favors from large agribusinesses or to make private trips home at taxpayer expense. Even so, not a single high Clinton official was indicted or forced to resign all week.

■ The Council of Higher Education for the Commonwealth of Virginia has just issued a report that says 25.4 per cent of last year's freshmen entered Virginia colleges and universities unable to read, write, or count adequately. Graduates of private high schools, 15.2 per cent of whom needed remediation, fared better than those from public high schools, whose figure stood at 26.1 per cent; still, both figures were up from the year before. The cost of these remedial courses: $24.7 million. This problem, of course, is not unique to the Old Dominion, and it demonstrates not only the shortcomings of present-day elementary and secondary instruction, but also the problem with the open-admissions policies at so many state-funded institutions, where the rest of us foot the bill for such hidden costs, paying a second time for what we did not get before.

■ The National Charities Information Bureau publishes a *Wise Giving Guide* four times a year, to assure "prospective givers" that the "organizations to which they make their contributions" are devoted to "public service." Recent *Guides*, while approving of the Heritage Foundation, have put a note by its name indicating that it does not comply with NCIB Standard 1j—"a policy promoting pluralism and diversity within the organization's board, staff, and constituencies." This prompted Heritage to pass the following resolution: "The Heritage Foundation does not endorse any quota or affirmative-action policies. Rather, [it] believes that men, women, and children of all races, religious faiths, and national origins will benefit from public policies that reflect conservative principles of limited government, a market economy, a strong national defense, and traditional values." The NCIB's rule is yet another case of the Overclass imposing its own political preferences on others under the guise of "standards"; few have resisted it as cogently as Heritage.

■ Yes, it's sometimes necessary to use force to restore democracy in an area within America's sphere of interest where basic human rights have been trampled. Look for an invasion of HUD's headquarters any day now.

■ As predicted here, the September 12 Quebec provincial election proved interesting: the separatist Parti Québecois won easily, collecting 77 seats in Quebec's 125-member National Assembly. Ottawa spin-masters immediately seized on the PQ's much narrower majority in the popular vote—44.7 per cent versus 44.3 per cent for the governing Liberals—as evidence that Quebeckers will not support independence in the referendum promised within a year. "An Encouraging Signal from Quebec," agreed the *New York Times* editorial page, which has never worried about President Clinton's still lower 1992 popular vote of 43 per cent. Furthermore, this argument ignores the 6.5 per cent of the vote that went to a new French-speaking splinter party, softer but still separatist, and the fact that the non-French-speaking fifth of the electorate went solidly for the Liberals. So among French-speaking voters, separatism won by more than 2 to 1. This is not a stable situation. And there's a lot the PQ could do to make it more unstable. For thirty years, Ottawa's federalists have claimed successively that the Quebec separatist dragon did not exist, that its jaws were not open, that it was not going to swallow anyone, and now that Confederation will escape by hanging onto its tonsils. But at least Ottawacrats have a pecuniary interest in the status quo. The U.S. media elite's compulsive cosmopolitanism is a deeper, more dangerous, and more curious disease.

■ Still more interesting news from Canada. The Progressive Conservatives, who were all but extinguished in 1993, may have used the Canadian Security Intelligence Service to sabotage efforts by their rival on the Right, the upstart Reform Party, to organize in the populous central province of Ontario, which the Tories believed was the key to their re-election. This August, a former aide to Douglas Lewis, the Tory minister responsible for the intelligence service, leaked documents showing that it had paid Grant Bristow, a co-founder of Canada's tiny white-supremacist Heritage Front, over $40,000 a year between 1989 and

The Inconstant Middle

Though Mr. Clinton didn't cry
"Eureka!" when he peeled
The squishy-soft from Bob and Newt
As Hillary cartwheeled,
The way he shilled the moderates
While on his bended knees
Means Chafee, Kassebaum, et al.
Will get another squeeze.

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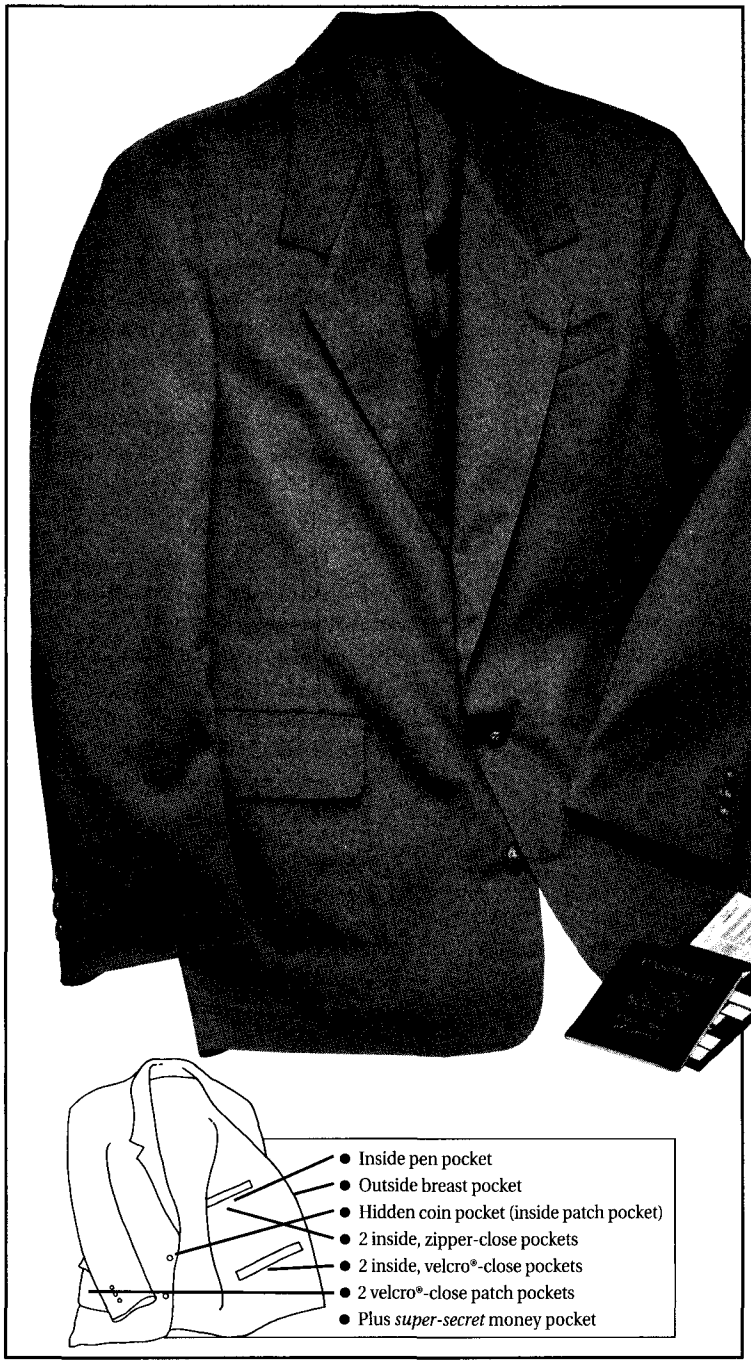
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1993 to infiltrate Reform. Once inside, Mr. Bristow frequently volunteered as a bodyguard for party leader Preston Manning, enabling him to appear close to Mr. Manning in several photographs. This evidence linking Mr. Lewis to the Bristow affair is only circumstantial. Still, during the same period, he was co-chairman of the Tories' Ontario campaign committee and the author of ads smearing Reform as racist for its opposition to Canada's open-door immigration policy. Furthermore, a second white-supremacist—this one actually a Reform candidate—is suspected of being a Lewis plant. That extremist's exposure just ten days before the election is thought to have cost Reform half a dozen seats, and thus official Opposition status. Parliament is investigating both allegations.

■ After all Mr. Clinton's threats and promises to go ahead with the invasion, at least our military forces enjoyed the element of total surprise.

■ The European members of NATO seem to be forming a consensus behind Willy Claes as the next NATO Secretary General, succeeding Manfred Woerner, who died of cancer this summer. Mr. Claes, most recently the Belgian Foreign Minister, has big shoes to fill: Mr. Woerner had not only diplomatic charm and creative energy but also strategic judgment. NATO's tragedy is that it has no candidates of that caliber to succeed him. Willy Claes is identified with the EC's stiff-arming an important U.S. initiative last year to tighten Western restrictions on technology transfers to Iran. He was unenthusiastic about the installation of U.S. missiles in Western Europe in the 1980s, raising questions about how he will react to Russia's campaign to weaken NATO and head off Polish, Hungarian, and Czech membership. And he has the reputation of a European federalist, which bodes ill at a time when European Union zealotry is a centrifugal force within the Alliance. Three strikes and you're out.

■ In the wake of the Cairo conference, the best article on world population and environmental problems has been "Forget PCBs. Radon. Alar." by Gregg Easterbrook, in the *New York Times Magazine*. Mr. Easterbrook argues that the two most lethal environmental problems in the world today are "dung smoke and diarrhea," caused by the lack of better fuel and of basic water purification in much of the Third World. First World enviros don't talk about these problems, because they hate hydroelectric projects and would rather spend their time tracking American ozone emissions. But if they focused on the real problems, population pressure would decrease, as Third World parents became confident that their children would live into adulthood. Save the planet; junk Al Gore.

■ President Clinton didn't get all he wanted in the negotiated Haiti deal. Rumor has it he offered the military dictators safe passage to the U.S. in exchange for the Haitians' keeping Sam Nunn.

■ Next time you're feeling humanitarian and would like to participate in an AIDS walk, you may want to consider what happened in Philadelphia. No, not the movie, the city. An organization called "From All Walks of Life" (FAWOL) recently donated proceeds from its AIDS walk to organizations that fund abortions for low-income HIV-positive women. The move was denounced, refreshingly, by the "Pro-Life Alliance of Gays and Lesbians" (PLAGAL), on the grounds that it promoted a pernicious quality-of-life argument. "An unborn child whose mother is HIV positive has as great a right to live as an unborn child whose mother is HIV negative," said a PLAGAL spokesman, who also called for greater "moral, religious, and philosophical diversity" among gays. PLAGAL is to be commended for its courage and open-mindedness in rejecting a first principle of gay culture: that unreproductive sex is the only quality in the quality of life. Where may such diverse musings lead?

■ *"Two voices are there: one is of the deep / And one is of an old half-witted sheep / And, Wordsworth, both are thine."* J. K. Stephen's famous crack about William Wordsworth applied perfectly to the *New York Times*'s Anna Quindlen. Her early columns on domestic life combined wit, sweetness, and a highly incorrect appreciation of gender differences. Her later columns on politics and national affairs were vapid, mindless, and appalling even by the standards of the *Times*'s op-ed page (and God knows etc.). Now she is leaving to write novels. We wish her luck in this area, where her instincts may again triumph over her ideology. And we take the opportunity to propose a name for the ever growing ranks of those who are Affirmatively Acted beyond their level of competence: they should be called "Quindlings" (rhymes with "Quislings").

■ Robert Johnson, the black guitarist, who died in 1938, has now been honored with a postage stamp. But wait: the artist who designed the stamp, working

The Lady Vanishes

Like Miss Foy, who disappeared
When the choo-choo tunnel neared,
Hillary's been missing from
D.C. doings, prompting some
To conclude she's been confined
With the cat, which isn't kind,
But reflects those up to here
With her role as engineer.

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from an old photo, deleted the cigarette from Johnson's lips. The same was done recently to Edward R. Murrow. George Meany's cigar also disappeared down the memory hole. The blank space where Trotsky was airbrushed out of official photographs was once seen universally in the West as a symbol of totalitarianism. Well?

■ Where was Jimmy Carter when the baseball negotiations needed him?

Haiti: No Turning Back

PRESIDENT Clinton—and all of us—are fortunate that a military assault on Haiti was avoided and a peaceable entry negotiated. A combination of overwhelming military force and modest concessions managed to convince the tinpot leaders of a rag-tag army ruling one of the poorest countries on earth that the United States of America really meant what it said, and that they should withdraw gracefully. Mr. Clinton would not have needed to go to the brink on this occasion if he had not previously earned the reputation of a feckless wimp.

But no good case has been made for U.S. intervention in Haiti—President Carter even undercut Mr. Clinton's denunciation of the Haitian junta as murderers and rapists—and its dangers are formidable. The Administration proceeds on the extraordinarily optimistic assumption that our forces will have only light "peacekeeping" functions, like patrolling the streets, training police, and smiling at the natives. Yet Haiti remains a polarized country. President Aristide's pledges to Mr. Clinton ("No vengeance, no reprisals") sound good, but he has no political party or institutional base, only a potential mass movement, which he will have to mobilize by rabble-rousing against the military and Duvalierist forces that remain deeply entrenched (General Cédras et al. are not even obliged to leave the country under the Carter agreement). Père Aristide will also probably want to distance himself from the Americans to prove he is not a puppet. Consider how hard it was for Bill Clinton to govern as a "New Democrat" when his political base pulled him to the left. Père Aristide's idol, after all, is Robespierre, not JFK.

The upshot is that instead of a friendly "peacekeeping" assignment we will be in the middle of an incipient civil war. As in Lebanon in 1983 and in Somalia in 1993, a peaceable mission in favorable conditions can turn dangerous quickly when the political ground shifts.

President Clinton has compounded all his risks by the way he has handled his own political situation at home. In his September 15 televised address, he invoked the UN several times, but never mentioned the U.S. Congress. No Republican President in memory has treated the Congress with such arrogance and contempt as he has—baldly asserting his unilateral authority to send troops to Haiti and instructing his loyalists on the Hill to stifle any request for a vote or even a debate. There is much to be said against the War Powers Act and its claim of a congressional veto power, but President Clinton, if history is any guide, is asking for trouble. Should anything go wrong—as in Mogadishu when the dead GI was dragged through the dirt—public tolerance of Mr. Clinton's Haiti adventure will evaporate. This, in turn, will deprive the President of the staying power that he will need to finish the job. (Again, witness Lebanon and Somalia.) Mr. Clinton has left himself no margin for error.

Inside the Beltway

The cherries will blossom in April;
The tourists will flock to the Mall;
But Barry's redemptive election
Is casting a palpable pall
As liberals living in Georgetown
Tag pieces for afternoon sales,
While area realtors notice
A move to the Maryland dales.

W. H. VON DREELE

Burying 'Reform'

HEALTH-CARE reform may be "dead," as the pundits say, but like Faulkner's Bundren family George Mitchell is dragging it around for an unseemly time prior to burial. The outgoing Majority Leader hopes to cause some Republican embarrassment by keeping the body in sight—as testimony to Republican "opportunism" and "obstruction"—and perhaps even to revive the corpse with the help of Republicans averse to legislative funerals.

For the GOP to help push through any health reform in the twilight of this Congress would, of course, be self-destructive and unprincipled—which explains why it's still a worry. The jitters, as usual, center on the Senate Minority Leader. Bob Dole has been tactically brilliant over the last year. If America's health-care system emerges unscathed from the 103rd Congress, he will deserve much of the credit. But will his sense of principle match his exquisite sense of timing?

During the recess, Dole the Dealer made one of his periodic cameo appearances, this time to suggest a sort of health-care mini-summit. Mr. Dole and House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich would, in this scenario,

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exit to a dark room somewhere stage left with Mr. Mitchell and Tom Foley to craft a small-scale health bill, subject neither to amendments nor to a House–Senate conference. Democrats salivate at this prospect. Such a summit would create irresistible Inside-the-Beltway pressure for a deal. Any deal, in turn, would boost the Democrats' chances in the fall: exit all the talk of thirty-seat GOP gains, stage right.

Most Senate Republicans realize this, and their objections have led Mr. Dole to drop the back-room talk —for now. Whenever he feels his resolve slipping in the days ahead, he should remember that participation in *any* health deal will destroy his long-nurtured presidential ambitions. Mr. Gingrich, meanwhile, was initially tempted by the summit idea, until Senator Paul Coverdell, solid as a rock throughout the health-care debate, helped convince him of its folly. That Mr. Gingrich would even consider it shows he's feeling the call of "leadership." Are conservatives losing him to Dole's Disease?

Right Data

Mario Cuomo, Supply-Sider?

THE NORTHEAST is finally getting its economic act together. Unemployment is already below the national average in New Jersey, where Governor Whitman's 30 per cent income-tax cut is to take effect over the next three years. Governor Weld is pushing for modest tax cuts as he downsizes in Massachusetts, while Connecticut's GOP gubernatorial hopeful, John Rowland, has pledged to phase out the income tax imposed by Governor Weicker in 1991.

Governor Cuomo insists that he too is "an intelligent supply-sider." As evidence, he frequently cites the state's "effective" tax rate, or total state tax collections per $1,000 in state personal income. Data for 1991 (the latest available) show this at $71.18 per $1,000—23rd highest in the nation—compared to 14th highest when Cuomo took office in 1983.

But this measurement overlooks a key fact: New York State places a heavy burden on its local governments. Of the major states, for example, only New York requires localities to defray a portion of welfare and Medicaid benefits. When state and local taxes are combined, New York's total tax burden exceeded $4,300 per capita in 1991, more than any other state except for anomalous Alaska.

A more sophisticated measure corroborates this one. The Economic Incentives Index, compiled by New York Citizens for a Sound Economy, melds personal and corporate tax rates, local property taxes, welfare spending, and crime rates into one comprehensive figure. New York ranked a dismal 47th.

By cutting the state's top income-tax rate "to its lowest level in thirty years," Mr. Cuomo has garnered kudos from numerous groups on the Right, including the libertarian Cato Institute. But look again, fellows. When the governor took office the top rate, 10 per cent, kicked in at $17,000, the equivalent of $26,400 in today's dollars. Today the top rate starts at incomes as low as $13,000. In addition, the lowest tax rate, 2 per cent then, is 4 per cent now. So while the top rate came down for high rollers, the average New Yorker faces higher marginal tax disincentives today.

Since Mr. Cuomo took office, fully half the Fortune 500 industrial corporations headquartered in New York have either left the state, merged, or fallen behind. New York has lost 43 such companies, trailing only California (48) and Illinois (44). Many erstwhile New York firms simply moved across the border to Connecticut or New Jersey, which together now have more Fortune 500 industrials (50) than New York. Governor Cuomo, meanwhile, prefers to dwell on the state's continued primacy in "Fortune 500 industrial *and* service firms."

Mario Cuomo did not create the problem. Nelson Rockefeller had already pushed spending far beyond the state's fiscal capacity in the prosperous 1960s. But another governor, Hugh Carey, showed that the trend was not irreversible. By wielding the line-item veto available to all New York governors, Mr. Carey, a Democrat, took on Albany's big-spending legislators, and actually cut real spending during his eight years in office. Leadership can best liberalism, even in New York. —ED RUBENSTEIN

TAX HELL ON THE HUDSON

	State and Local Taxes Per Capita (1991)	Top Income-Tax Rate (1994)	Welfare Spending Rate* (1991)	Job Growth (1980–1993)
New York	$4,363	7.875%	$45.12	8%
New Jersey	3,651	6.65	22.19	11
Connecticut	3,391	4.5	25.36	12
Pennsylvania	2,589	2.95	27.38	9
Florida	2,836	0.0	19.69	53
California	3,309	11.0	28.09	28
U.S. average	2,967	5.8	27.23	21

* Welfare spending per $1,000 of personal income
Source: Citizens for a Sound Economy, Dept. of Commerce

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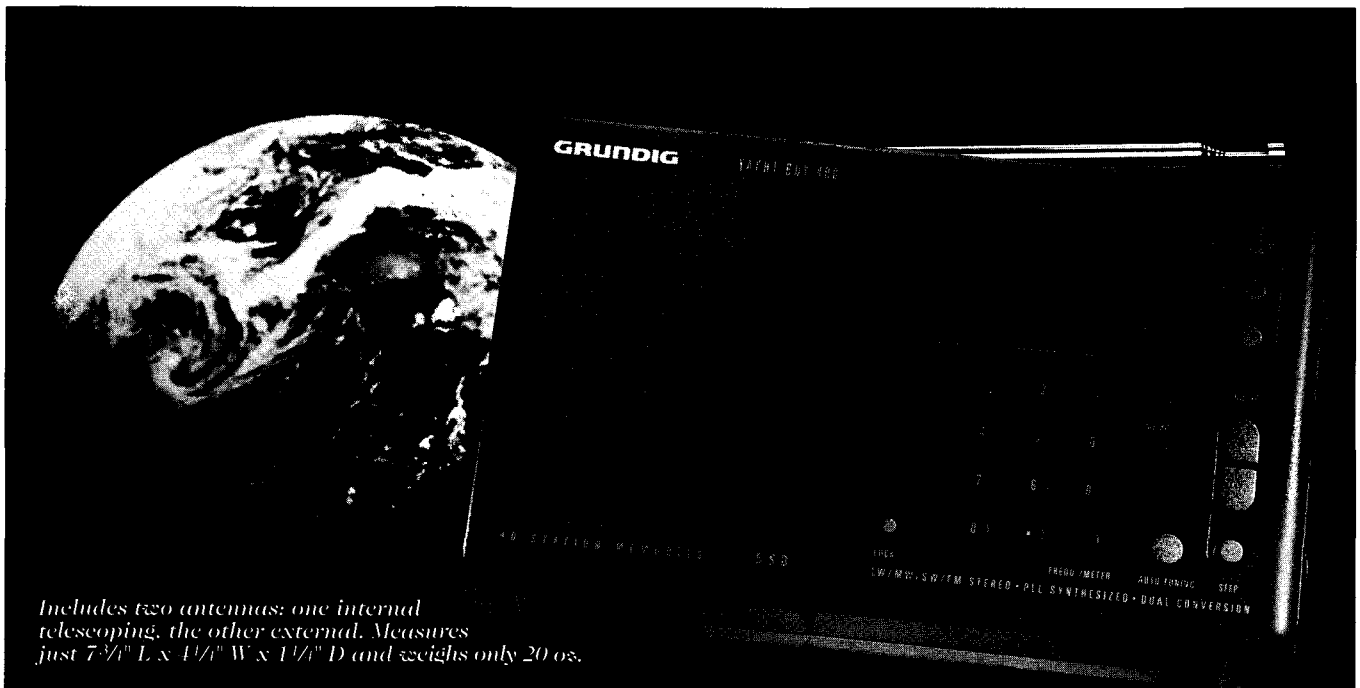

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Republicans need to say no on health one more time. The Democrats' last gasp is likely to be a version of Tom Harkin's proposal to extend coverage to all children. Democrats will include in any bill the insurance reforms Republicans have talked about for a year, plus the child-insurance provisions, and then recite: Not only do Republicans not care about America's children; they also put politics above their own reforms.

But the latest health reform is just more of the same. It's a middle-class entitlement: subsidies for the insurance of children will go to families with incomes up to 400 per cent of the poverty level. It's expensive: $240 billion over ten years. And it attacks a bogus crisis: Medicaid already covers children of families with incomes up to about 150 per cent of poverty, and some uninsured children are in well-off families that just choose not to buy coverage.

Republicans should reach for the shovel; it's time to give this year's health reform a decent burial.

Right On

AS OF JULY Ellen Sauerbrey trailed Representative Helen Bentley 48 to 14 for the Republican gubernatorial nomination in Maryland, according to a Mason-Dixon poll. Just a week before the election she still trailed by 13 points. But on September 13 she won the primary 52 to 38, pulling to victory on grass-roots organization and a determination to give voters a choice in the fall. Mrs. Bentley, a traditional Maryland Republican (she helped build the party), had a moderate voting record in Congress and close ties to out-going Democratic Governor Donald Schaefer, who encouraged her gubernatorial bid. Mrs. Sauerbrey, in contrast, promised a Christine Whitmanesque 24 per cent cut in income taxes, and emphasized: "I'm not a different shade of Schaefer."

If not as dramatically, conservatives generally fared well in primary races across the country. In Arizona, they swept three congressional primaries, with State Senator Matt Salmon, former State Assistant Attorney General John Shadegg, and sportscaster J. D. Hayworth all winning. In Minnesota, the rock-solid freshman Representative Rod Grams won the senatorial primary, while State Representative Gil Gutknecht and former State Senator Tad Jude took congressional primaries. Allen Quist, the high-profile candidate of the Religious Right, stumbled in Minnesota's gubernatorial primary, never recovering from his unfashionable suggestion that the man should be the head of the family. The winner, meanwhile, Arne Carlson, forfeited conservative support by comparing Mr. Quist to Hitler; this is one governor's mansion the Democrats might as well occupy.

There were some disappointments. In New Hampshire, former Jim Buckley staffer Mike Hammond, a brilliant parliamentarian and conservative true-believer, lost a bid for a congressional nomination to the more moderate former State Senator Charlie Bass. In New York, businesswoman Sue Kelly, a pro-choice moderate, got the nod to run for the seat being vacated by the elder Hamilton Fish. But taken as a whole the latest primary results are encouraging; the further the Republican Party is from any shade of Schaefer, the better.

Human Rights at Home

DURING the Cold War, leftist political activists writhed in pain when the Reagan and Bush Administrations used human rights as a weapon against Communism. The activists had initiated the human-rights campaign in the Carter days, as a means of undermining American allies, and the "misuse" of human-rights arguments to denounce Cuba, the Soviet Union, Nicaragua, and other Communist states offended them no end.

Now they have had their revenge. On September 12, the State Department's human-rights bureau issued a report denouncing human-rights violations in America. Filled with hand-wringing apologies for our own human-rights record, this document is the purest distillation of the view of America represented by the anti–Vietnam War movement, whose graduates fill so many Clinton Administration jobs. "Egregious human-rights violations in [the] ongoing struggle for justice" constitute the U.S. record, which includes slavery, destroying Native American culture, treating immigrants poorly, and denying full rights to women. Current "areas of concern" include attacks on abortion-rights activists, the death penalty, sex discrimination, and language-rights infringements (whatever that may mean). Those whom Jeane Kirkpatrick once fa-

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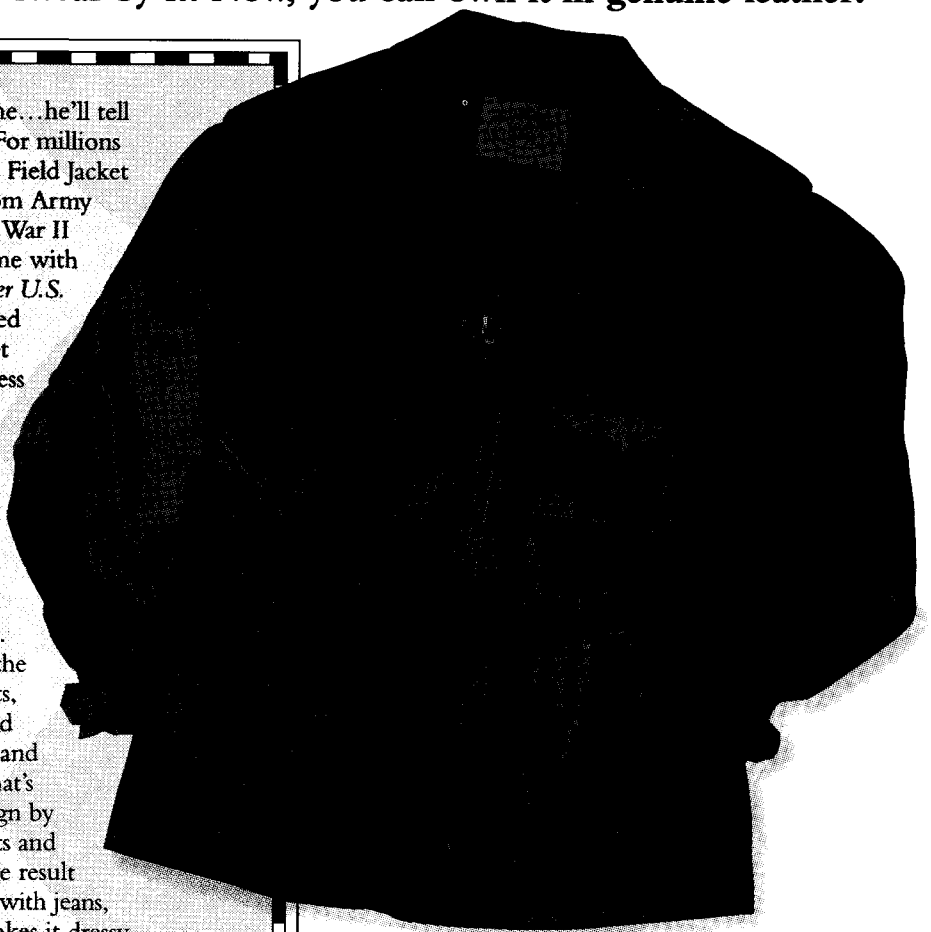

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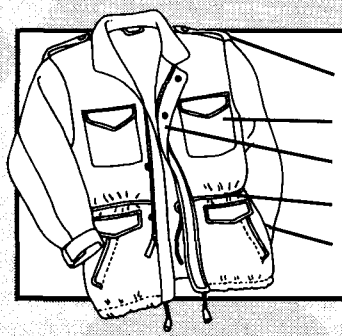

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mously called "the San Francisco Democrats" are alive and well in Mr. Clinton's government.

Can we next expect the State Department to impose an embargo on the Justice Department? For the Clinton Administration's own Crime Bill expands the use of the death penalty. Did it ever occur to anyone in the Clinton government that the *activities* of abortion-rights activists are considered human-rights abuses by many Americans?

The list of abuses on the home front misses some the activists would have spotted in South Korea or South Africa. First, there is the suspicious one-party rule of the United States Government. It is a problem not only at a national level but also in many of the provinces, where corrupt party machines control all public affairs. Second, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has consistently restrained free speech by pursuing citizens who criticize HUD programs. Third, the Justice Department is intervening in private lawsuits to press the courts to rule that persons from disfavored races may be fired to make room for persons from favored groups. Fourth, the White House has developed a medical-care system that would make it a crime to pay your doctor more than Ira Magaziner thinks he should get.

Given the gravity of these abuses, next year's report should be exciting.

The IRI: Shake It Up Or Close It Down

DURING the Reagan Administration, efforts to promote the spread of democracy included establishment of taxpayer-funded international institutes for both parties. The National Democratic Institute soon acquired a reputation for effective programming. The International Republican Institute (IRI) has never kept up.

This was understandable, if disappointing, during the 12 years of Republican control of American foreign policy. During the Reagan and Bush Administrations, foreign-policy talent went into the government rather than into the IRI. But the IRI did not improve after Mr. Bush's defeat.

It seemed encouraging when Senator John McCain took over as chairman of the IRI board in mid-1993 and replaced its president. But a year later, the IRI remains an embarrassment to the party. It is time for the board—which includes such distinguished members as Jeane Kirkpatrick, Richard Williamson, J. William Middendorf, and Representative David Dreier—to do something.

For one thing, the IRI is simply badly run. Staff morale is poor, and turnover is high. The IRI's president, Bruce McColm, has flatly told the staff that he handles fund-raising and "big think" about the IRI's future while his deputy (another McCain appointee) runs the place. Meanwhile, private fund-raising efforts, useful to lessen dependence on government funds, are lagging badly. If Mr. McColm won't run the place and can't raise money, why was he hired?

With the GOP out of power, the IRI offers a rare opportunity for Republicans to make a mark in foreign policy. Its charter limits it to promoting democracy in a nonpartisan manner, never backing one party over another in a foreign election. Still, it could be a vibrant center for thinking, writing, educational programming, and assistance to foreign parties and individuals who want to learn about the Reagan Revolution. The IRI could teach the lessons of limited government and free-market—economics, the importance of stressing individual freedom over state power, of building a strong civil society to restrain the government.

With all the Republican foreign-policy talent now available, there is no excuse for the IRI's continuing failure. The board, and particularly Senator McCain, should either make it work, or close it down.

Richard J. Herrnstein, RIP

RICHARD HERRNSTEIN, occupant of Harvard's oldest chair in psychology, died on September 13. Professor Herrnstein was the prototype of the scholar—astonishingly erudite, meticulous in his research, with a touch of genius in his insights. During the 1960s, he formulated the "Matching Law," a breakthrough in understanding how reinforcement and behavior are linked. As the years went on, the Matching Law inspired hundreds of experiments in behavioral psychology, and the applications spread from psychology into other fields. Herrnstein was one of the rare psychologists to publish in the *American Economic Review*, and the Matching Law has by now begun to stimulate a new look at the rational-choice model that drives modern economics.

Outside academia, Professor Herrnstein came to national attention for his work on intelligence in a famous *Atlantic* article in 1971. He pointed out that intelligence was substantially (though not completely) inherited, that success in life was correlated with intelligence, and that the more the environmental factors were equalized, the more social and economic success would become an inherited trait. In 1994, this does not sound so improbable; in 1971, the intellectual heyday of egalitarianism, it was heresy, and Professor Herrnstein paid a heavy price. It wasn't just that he was called a racist when he had not even written about race, nor that his clearly stated views were twisted out of all recognition in the journalists' retelling. He also discovered that colleagues could betray him and that an institution he adored could hold him at arm's

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length, not because he was wrong, but because they were afraid.

About four years ago, shortly after Dick and I had begun to collaborate on a new book about intelligence and social policy, we were talking over a late-evening Scotch at his home in Belmont, Mass. We had been musing about the warning shots the prospective book had already drawn and the heavy fire that was sure to come. The conversation began to depress me, and I said, "Why the hell are we doing this, anyway?"

Dick recalled the day when, as a young man, he had been awarded tenure. It was his dream fulfilled—a place in the university he so loved, the chance to follow his research wherever it took him, economic security. For Dick, being a tenured professor at Harvard was not just the perfect job, but the perfect way to live his life. It was too good to be true; there had to be a catch. What's my part of the bargain? he had asked himself. "And I figured it out," he said, looking at me with that benign, gentle half-smile of his. "You have to tell the truth." There was no self-congratulation in his voice, just an answer to my question. —CHARLES MURRAY

James Clavell, RIP

A DOZEN YEARS ago Chilton Williamson, at the time our book-review editor, called me to deliver a mildly complicated diplomatic message. It was this, that the young writer Terry Teachout (this was before he became famous) wished to have an interview with James Clavell, for publication in *NR*. But Mr. Clavell, or perhaps someone on his staff, had passed along the word that Mr. Clavell would grant the interview only if I called him on the phone and requested it. I thought that protocol a little unusual, but not preposterous; and so I did call him. I have no memory of the conversation, in which I presumably gave the bona fides of Terry Teachout and assured Mr. Clavell that his name was not on NATIONAL REVIEW's secret list of evil people who needed to be impaled. But I walked away with the impression that James Clavell was rather formal in his habits.

He gave the interview (it was published on November 12, 1982). Mr. Teachout began his story by adducing Noël Coward's answer to the question, "Isn't there *anyone* worth reading on the best-seller lists any more?" Yes, Coward had said—James Clavell. Teachout went on, "To call Clavell a 'popular novelist' is an understatement: incredibly, he is now among the most widely read authors of the century." In the interview, Clavell repeated several times that he thought himself, pure and simple, a "storyteller."

Six years later we met in Switzerland, at our place in Rougemont. He was striking in appearance, in the Bengal Lancer mode, with greying hair and rubicund cheeks, a prominent chin and light blue eyes. He limped on his right leg but maneuvered without difficulty. In a matter of minutes (sometimes these things happen) we were talking as though we had been to school together. At one point, chewing on a chicken leg, he eloquently and indignantly spoke of how his third publisher had cheated him out of royalties, and I was nodding my head sympathetically as he gave the predatory details. At this moment a Khan (I can't remember which one) breezed by: "What are you two talking about?"

Clavell looked up with his furtive smile and determined voice: "Something that concerns you not at all: money." All three of us enjoyed it.

We were in regular touch, he and his wife, April; my wife, Pat, and I. The day before leaving Switzerland in March I wrote him, "Well, finished novel. Don't much like the very end, but easy to change down the line. We should chat, though of course I'll see you very soon"—James had told us he'd be in Connecticut to visit his daughter "in a couple of weeks." I concluded my note as I had so many others, with reference to a computer program I was (am) so wildly enthusiastic about, the *American Heritage Dictionary*. ". . . I yearn to hear from you that the dictionary has brought such joy into your life as it has into mine!!!"

He didn't call—and didn't, during the summer, send along any of his two-line faxes. His silence was surprising, and then a week ago Roger Moore, his close friend and ours, called to say James had died of cancer, which he had fought all summer long.

THREE YEARS ago I had teased James in a brief passage in one of my books (*WindFall*) about a long lunch we had had together. I wrote, "A spirited session, as always with James, about this and that, with heavy emphasis on his bad luck with his failed musical, *Shogun*. That evening . . . I remarked to my wife, 'You know—James didn't ask what *I've* done since we last met. If he had, I could have said, "Waal, James, let's see: In the ten weeks since I last saw you, I've played two harpsichord concerts; I've retired as editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, after 35 years; I've crossed the Atlantic Ocean on a sailboat; I've published two books, one fiction, one non-fiction; and I have become a senior citizen."' (I am running no danger whatever that James will see these words—he doesn't read my books, and I haven't read all of his. And what I am recording is by no means intended as critical: mere social piquancy, curious, scientific bemusement over solipsistic social manners.)"

I wasn't surprised after my book was published, in January 1992, not to hear from James about it. But in August I had one of his quick faxes. "Hi. Whatcha mean I don't read your books? J." And at one point this winter, when I said I was finishing my writing assignment, he gave me his look, one-half sternness, one-half the derisive smile: "Don't you go and put me into this book."

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He would never let out the *mise en scène* of his own ongoing book until galley-proof time. He would simply report that he had put in his day's work, which was ten to twelve pages of manuscript and, later, fifty pages of copy editing. He came regularly to inspect my electronic equipment, and referred to himself once as our "electrician."

We very much enjoyed our fax camaraderie. Feb. 19, 1994: "To: the guru of gurus. M'aidez si vous plait. Could you press THE button and tell me did King Kong come out of Conan Doyle's Lost World? cir 1912? J." And I'd fax him an occasional column, especially if I thought he'd be amused by it, as by the bizarre suicide of the Tory MP Milligan last February, who was discovered with odd pieces of this and that tucked into odd parts of his body. "Another of the great joys of having the Buckleys en residence is the daily fax illuminating the world that I would otherwise miss. Quelle horreur to be so uneducated. Poor Tory Milligan. Why in the mouth? I could understand if it was in the other place, particularly if he had been a socialist, for there is ample room for a baker's dozen. Poor fellow. Did he just like oranges? He clearly wanted to tell us something—or his friend, assailant, or partner. Another of life's sweet tapestries. Would you and herself care to come to lunch one day—dinner I presume is out for you this way. Yours till hell etc. J."

I never told him how many of his books I had read, to which the answer is—only two. The reason is that I read slowly and have a terrible time taking on books of the length of James Clavell's. But the two I read confirm the reasons for his popularity. He was the supreme storyteller. Socially he was a retiring man, the sometime Australian who at age 18 was taken by the Japanese into one of their legendarily terrible war camps, where he stayed five years. He was in his thirties before he began to score his heavy successes as the great fiction chronicler of Asia.

When we put down the telephone, after Roger described his final weeks, we both felt a void of loneliness which will gnaw at us for years to come. Our friendship wasn't that of one writer for another. It was as simple as that I delighted in his company. —WFB

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Bill:

I am writing to ask you to lend me your forum to apologize to *NR*'s readership for saying Bill Clinton pounded the "podium" instead of the "lectern" in my August 15 column, "Clear Itself."

It was caught by someone at the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, which reprints the column, and changed in their version. As soon as they told me about it I knew I would get letters from our sharp-eyed readers. Sure enough, two came today; from Judge William Austin Kelly of Chicago, and Mr. Robert H. Walsh of Eaton, Ohio, both of whom have mastered the art of gentlemanly chiding.

If only Clinton had stamped his feet I'd be in the clear. Give him time, he will . . . he will. At the rate he's going, I'll soon be able to place him in an aerie.

Bestissimus,
Florence [King]
Fredericksburg, Va.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I would like to inform *NR*'s readers that I am now hard at work on a full-scale biography of an extremely important figure in the history of NATIONAL REVIEW and of American conservatism in general: Frank S. Meyer, an *NR* editor from 1955 until his death in 1972.

As with my previous work on James Burnham, the biography will focus especially upon Meyer's years in the conservative movement, and will show how his extraordinary contacts and activities for the Right mirrored its growth.

But I need everyone's help. I'm sure there are some long-time *NR* readers who knew and remember Frank Meyer. If so, and especially if you have letters, pictures, correspondence, or simply long-held memories about Frank, his "Principles and Heresies" column, and his editorship of *NR*'s book-review section, I would greatly appreciate it if you would contact me at the address below.

Dr. Kevin Smant
Department of History
Indiana University South Bend
P.O. Box 7111
South Bend, Ind. 46634
219-237-4513

■ Dear Bill:

My name is Ryan Ellis. I am an unapologetic conservative, registered Republican, practicing Christian, dittohead, C-SPAN junkie, and regular reader of NATIONAL REVIEW. Unfortunately, I am also trapped in the Northeast, which, with the exception of Kevin Vigilante, has not exactly embraced my ideology. Therefore, I must ask you a favor. I'm still young, so I can get out when I am older. Could you inform me of the most conservative state left in the fruited plain? Some suggestions to begin with: look for the state with the least amount of government intrusion; a state with term limits; a state where there are low taxes and/or a flat tax; a state where the Republican Party is conservative and the Democratic Party is liberal; finally, a state where NATIONAL REVIEW is easily obtained. Much appreciated.

Ryan Ellis
Providence, R.I.

Dear Mr. Ellis: Such a state does not, forsooth, exist. So go forth in a missionary spirit. Bon voyage! Cordially, **—WFB**

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ON THE SCENE

The Fine Print

RICH LOWRY

Fred Carlson

WASHINGTON, D.C.

IN August the House Republican welfare working group had finally hammered out a compromise between the tough reform proposal offered by Jim Talent (Mo.) and Tim Hutchison (Ark.) and last year's weaker official House Republican bill. The beefed-up proposal would be included in the GOP's "Contract with America," the package of ten bills that GOP and congressional candidates will unveil on September 27. Nancy Johnson (Conn.), a moderate who supported the softer bill and was involved in the negotiations, was so disenchanted with the compromise that she refused to sign a "Dear Colleague" letter explaining it to other Republican members.

But for once, Mrs. Johnson didn't get her way. Indeed, in the wrangling over what to include in the "Contract with America," moderates scored few substantive victories. "We didn't have the tail wagging the dog in this instance," says one leadership aide. The result is a solid platform on which to campaign —and govern.

Minority Whip Newt Gingrich dreamed up the Contract this spring, when significant Republican gains in November started to seem thinkable. The idea was to formulate a believable GOP agenda that would give voters an incentive to hand Republicans a House majority. The Contract's specificity—ten actual bills, ready for enactment in the first hundred days of a Republican Congress—was meant to cut through voter cynicism. This isn't another vague assurance like President Clinton's, say Republicans; it's a guarantee from a party willing to be held accountable.

Dick Armey (Tex.), chairman of the House Republican conference, has been putting meat on the Contract's bones. Armey worked hard to keep anything wishy-washy out of it, especially in the area of welfare reform, and his staff sat in on each of the working groups that deliberated on the Contract's details.

GOP congressional candidates also exerted rightward pressure. Former Perot pollster Frank Luntz surveyed all the candidates and found they generally favored bolder measures than the GOP incumbents did. They also wanted a Contract that would appeal to widespread anti-Congress sentiment.

That's why the Hundred Day agenda starts with a list of "opening day" reforms of Congress itself. Included are provisions for applying all laws to Congress, cutting committee staff by a third, requiring a three-fifths supermajority to pass any tax increase, and implementing "honest numbers" budget reforms. These ideas delight Perot voters, and any one of them would constitute a major overhaul of the way Congress works. The three-fifths provision amounts to an automatic filibuster on any tax increase. The staff cuts would mean the "annihilation," as one staffer puts it, of the Democratic committee juggernaut.

And this is just the first day. In the following 99, House Republicans are promising a vote on the balanced-budget amendment and line-item veto (two old ideas that still poll well); a crime bill that would roll back the social-welfare spending in Clinton's bill; welfare reform; various pro-family provisions; realistic funding of U.S. defense needs; souped-up IRAs, a repeal of Clinton's tax on Social Security benefits, and a capital-gains tax cut; a slew of regulatory reforms; Dan Quayle–style tort reforms; and term limits.

It would be a glorious hundred days. But there are some holes—leading the Christian Coalition's Marshall Wittmann to describe the Contract as "somewhere between bold and pastel."

The family section, especially, is full of yawners like stricter child-support enforcement. All that pro-family groups got from their wish list was a child tax credit (scaled back to $500) and language about parents' rights. Nothing on abortion would fly in the divided Republican conference. School choice and school prayer both fell to worries about how they would play politically.

What the Republicans gain in credibility by confining themselves to what could plausibly be done in a hundred days, they lose in boldness and vision. Nowhere is that clearer than in the approach to tax cuts.

The Republicans started out committed to a child tax credit; it's already in the alternative budget prepared by John Kasich (Ohio), the ranking Republican on the Budget Committee. But what about an across-the-board tax-rate cut, which surely would have even broader political appeal? The credit alone is estimated to cost $133 billion over five years. Because Republicans still have to play by Democratic accounting rules—which assume that a tax-rate cut never produces new revenue—and because they weren't willing to outline specific spending cuts for fear of provoking attacks, charges of raising the deficit looked impossible to fend off if they introduced a rate cut on top of the tax credit.

What about a simple rollback of Clinton's tax increases? "The Democrats successfully created the myth

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that their tax increase only hit the rich," says Larry Hunter of the Joint Economic Committee. "If we were simply to repeal it, they would call it a Republican tax cut for the wealthy."

John Kasich, who is becoming the bad seed of Republican congressional politics (he was instrumental in the phony crime-bill deal in August), also helped keep out a rate cut. Kasich wasn't offically a member of the working group that dealt with tax rates, but he would occasionally drop in on meetings, appearing galled that anybody was considering measures different from those in his alternative budget.

The upshot is that Republicans have a mishmash of proposals—capital-gains cut, child tax credit, elimination of the marriage penalty—that are worthy but lack resonance. They missed the opportunity to make the sort of bold government-reducing proposals that gave Christine Todd Whitman such a boost in her race against Jim Florio last year. She outlined far-reaching tax cuts and promised to pay for them with general spending cuts. New Jersey bought it.

"We talked a lot about the experience in New Jersey," says Jim Saxton (N.J.). But the strictures of the Contract made emulating Mrs. Whitman impossible. "We realized," he says, "that we couldn't do all the growth things that we wanted to do within the parameters of the first hundred days, remaining viable, sounding believable."

The opportunity cost may in the end be reasonable—but only if the Contract gets voters' attention, and if its agenda marks just a beginning. "If the House Republican Party stands up and says, 'This is everything we believe and everything we plan to do,' it's got a real problem," says Jeffrey Eisenach, president of the Progress and Freedom Foundation and a longtime Gingrich advisor. "If House Republicans say, 'This is a down payment. We understand it's only the first axe strike at the redwood,' then I think people will be enthusiastic."

For now, House Republicans are scrambling to make it clear that the Contract is a first step. They will, in a late addition, stipulate that a cut in tax rates and "common-sense" health-care reforms will be forthcoming. The Republicans' "Contract with America" may come due in a hundred days; their contract with their own principles is a longer-running concern. □

We Like Mike

HAROLD JOHNSON

SAN BERNARDINO

COUNTRY music wafts across the Orange Show fairgrounds on a cool late-summer Sunday. We're in San Bernardino, in the middle of Southern California's "Inland Empire," the sun-scorched expanse east of Los Angeles County that is a patchwork of bedroom communities with growing Republican registration and older, blue-collar neighborhoods where the Democrats like their politics populist.

An upbeat crowd munches hot dogs and awaits the star of the afternoon's political shindig, first-term Republican Congressman Michael Huffington, the oil-fortune heir who is challenging Senator Dianne Feinstein.

When Huffington arrives—his long, lean frame clad in denim and cowboy boots—he brings a message that resonates in this politically crucial region. He is the "outsider" who'll fight for term limits, while Senator Feinstein is the career pol who last year bragged, "Basically, my life is government." He reminds listeners how she backed the Clinton tax hike, which passed the Senate by just one vote; in contrast, he wants it repealed, especially the gas and Social Security levies, which smack the middle class hardest.

Roman Genn

"I'm gonna be the most fiscally conservative senator this state has ever seen," he vows. In this part of California, where the Endangered Species Act has done its worst, blocking development in deference to various anointed birds, rodents, and even insects, the loudest applause greets Huffington's boast, "I have always put people ahead of rats."

A relaxed optimism is in the air—and with good reason. The polls show the challenger running dead even with the incumbent; some Republican surveys even have him pulling ahead. It wasn't supposed to be this way, of course. Until late spring, pundits had Senator Feinstein proceeding grandly toward a coronation at the November polls. Hadn't she trounced incumbent GOP Senator John Seymour two years ago? Aren't her legislative accomplishments greeted with superlatives in the salons of Washington?

Well, yes. But John Seymour was an unknown when Pete Wilson tapped him to fill the Senate seat Mr. Wilson vacated on moving to Sacramento. As for Dianne Feinstein's legislative agenda, it seems most people in California don't care much about the Desert Protection Act. And her other signature issue, gun control (opposition to dread "assault weapons" in particular), doesn't seem to evoke much enthusiasm among voters. Maybe it's the memory of the Los Angeles riots, of the shopowners who defended themselves with high-powered rifles. Whatever the reason, there seem to be growing qualms about the drive to disarm the law-abiding.

The biggest thing Senator Feinstein has going against her is that she's a 24-carat liberal, and the hugely financed Huffington campaign is dedicated to making that fact as familiar to TV viewers as the DNA results in the O. J. Simpson case. Senator Feinstein votes with her fellow San Franciscan Barbara Boxer more than 90 per cent of the time. She's one of Bill Clinton's spit-and-polish loyalists; she co-sponsored the health-care bill, for instance, until heat generated by Mr. Huffington scared her away from it. An openness

Mr. Johnson is an editorial writer for the Orange County Register.

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to new taxes has been a constant throughout her career, since her first run for mayor of San Francisco in 1971, when she touted the brilliant idea of a municipal income tax. In Washington, the National Taxpayers Union last year ranked her the Senate's eighth biggest spender—ahead of such heavyweights as Barbara Boxer and Ted Kennedy in the cost of bills to which she had attached her name.

To be sure, for years she somehow retained a reputation as a middle-of-the-roader. Although her voting record has indeed shown a handful of deviations from the liberal line, this reputation owes more to stylistic factors. The reassuring mildness of her speaking style contrasts with the undiluted zealotry of Senator Boxer and a number of other prominent California Democrats, from Assembly Speaker Willie Brown to Congressman Ron Dellums to state party Chairman Bill Press. But an $8-million ad campaign by Michael Huffington has finally undone her image as an earnest moderate. As soon as this breakthrough in public education was achieved, her poll numbers did a swan dive.

The Feinstein counterattack has aimed at Mr. Huffington's wealth and the alleged effrontery of a Texan settling in Santa Barbara in 1991, running for the House of Representatives the next year, and launching his bid for the Senate the year after that. But more than half of Californians hail from somewhere else, a fact that may deflate the carpetbagger charge. And Senator Feinstein steps on slippery ground when she emphasizes personal finances. During her race for governor four years ago, she neglected to disclose that $2.7 million in loans to her campaign were the generous offerings of Sumitomo Bank (on whose board her husband, financier Richard Blum, sat) and Bank of America (of whose parent corporation he owned 2 million shares). She eventually settled with the state Fair Political Practices Commission for a $190,000 fine—the second largest ever levied by the commission—in an agreement that said the "errors or omissions were not intentional in nature." When she got to Washington, she let a lobbyist from the Recording Industry of America organize her Senate office at no charge—a decision that might complicate attempts to run as the integrity candidate.

Feeding Democratic nervousness is a dramatic reconfiguration of public concerns in the Golden State. "Crime and social issues—led by immigration—are the dominant issues going into the fall election," says John Rund, president of the Charlton Research Company in San Francisco, "although the economy continues to be a major concern. Environmental problems have completely dropped from voters' list of top concerns." Crime and immigration aren't issues that make people search out female Democrats to lead them, which explains not just Dianne Feinstein's woes but also Kathleen Brown's troubled gubernatorial campaign.

In the Inland Empire, in the Central Valley, and in rural regions north of San Francisco, male voters are giving Pete Wilson and Michael Huffington lopsided majorities, according to GOP pollster Wayne Johnson. The gender gap is propelled by moderate and conservative Democrats' gagging on Bill Clinton. "The Democratic males have finally figured out they've been abandoned and are crossing over in Reagan-era-like numbers," says Johnson. "This could be a huge Republican year if the party doesn't somehow shoot itself in the foot."

Some observers see a potential for such self-destructive gunplay in Huffington's ideological straddling. Many conservatives had put aside their misgivings about his liberalism on social issues, but then came new cause for consternation. The man who told the *San Francisco Chronicle* last May that he "registered as a Republican because [he] had to register as something" did a backflip that rekindled suspicions of opportunism. He supported the crime bill on the final rollcall—one of only three California Republicans to cave—after having voted against it in the GOP victory a few days earlier. He argues that the final version was greatly improved, that there was too much good in it—prison and police money, "three strikes, you're out"—to justify opposition. (Being forced to answer a Feinstein ad calling him soft on outlaws might have been a pain, too.)

But if Michael Huffington lacks the philosophical courage and clarity of Bruce Herschensohn, his broad message is certainly Reaganesque: "I'm not someone who believes in the power of the Federal Government to solve every problem from education to health to welfare," he tells the San Bernardino rally. Indeed, "dismantling the welfare state," returning responsibility for charity to localities, to churches, to families, is a trademark theme.

And conservatives recognize that he could help deliver the Senate to the Republicans. Democrats had counted Dianne Feinstein's as among their safest seats; if she goes down, it will be time for the lifeboats. For many conservative activists, that's the clinching argument in favor of Mr. Huffington, even if a few of them might pinch their nostrils while casting their ballots. Shortly after his vote for the crime bill, which included Senator Feinstein's "assault weapon" ban, the National Rifle Association endorsed Michael Huffington. Explains John Stoos of Gun Owners of California: "They're swallowing hard and saying, 'We want Orrin Hatch to be chairman of Judiciary.'" □

Shall I Carve?

IVO BANAC

DUBROVNIK

ON A WINDY, almost cloudless afternoon in late July I sailed with a group of friends from the island of Kolocep in the Adriatic Sea to Dubrovnik's new harbor. We were arguing whether the roar from the mainland was thunder or cannon. A mushroom of smoke from a nearby forest fire soon settled the argument. Radovan Karadzic's Serbs had fired more than fifty projectiles from Serbian-held eastern Hercegovina onto Croatia's southernmost coastal strip. Dubrovnik itself was spared, but its airport was targeted during the raid and in a series of lesser attacks that continued into late August.

It seemed that the shellings were not intended to cause serious material damage. The desired effect was subtler. It was the height of the vacation season, and most of the visitors—mainly Croats from Zagreb (the Croatian capital), along with a few daring

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Czechs and Hungarians—quickly left for the safer harbors of the northern Adriatic. Bozidar Vucurevic, Karadzic's warlord in eastern Hercegovina, sardonically commented that he intends to become Croatia's deputy minister of tourism. This murderous former truck driver—famous for stating in 1991 that should Dubrovnik be totally destroyed by Serbian bombing he would build a still more beautiful and "older" city—is not just boasting. He really has the power to disrupt nearly everything on Croatia's southern cul-de-sac. His brethren from the so-called Krajina, the Serbian-occupied inner rim of Croatia, hold equal power over practically every other part of the country.

Croatia's countermeasures consist of a combination of weak saber rattling and somewhat more determined (though hardly more realistic) bargaining with the Serbs. The first is the option chosen by Croatia's hawks—verbal warriors with huge rhetorical successes in the controlled media—who orchestrated last summer's marches of Croat refugees. These refugees were expelled by the "Krajina" Serbs under the gaze—and frequently thanks to the good offices—of the UN forces (UNPROFOR). According to the Vance plan of 1991, approved by the UN Security Council, UNPROFOR was to do precisely the opposite. Its mission was to disarm the various armies and militias in the "Krajina," prevent ethnic cleansing, and assure the return of all refugees. The refugee marches, civil protests, and blockades of roads used by UNPROFOR were aimed at reminding the bureaucrats in the glass house on the East River what their forces were supposed to be doing.

Various UN mandarins quickly reminded Croatia in turn that UNPROFOR was prepared to leave on demand. Since a UN departure could possibly lead to a renewal of all-out warfare, with uncertain results, the Croatian government blinked. Refugees were shooed away and obliquely told, in the unromantic words of cartoonist Josko Marusic, that they should accept their fate and start "including themselves in certain processes," such as beginning new lives away from their old homes. Klaus Kinkel, Germany's foreign minister, underscored the permanence of territorial losses by reassuring Croatian leaders in late August that EU support would not be lacking should Croatia be realistic, effectively renounce Serbian-occupied territories, and live up to European political standards, with the possible exception of territorial integrity.

Croatian "realists" would quibble over this last item. They have thought all along that a better deal can be struck with the Serbs. Hrvoje Sarinic, lackluster chief of Croatia's national-security office, conceded in a mid-August interview that "in order to accept peace and some other solutions, Serbia must get something out of everything that has happened. I am thinking of a small 'Greater Serbia.'" But he implied that the territorial sacrifice Croatia would be willing to make in exchange for peace would not include all the land now held by Serbs.

Realism, then, means kowtowing to Slobodan Milosevic's elected red-brown dictatorship in Serbia, with its genocidal policies in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. However, one can hardly blame a weak creature like Sarinic for mimicking the policies of most of the concerned powers. Never mind the special pleas of London and Paris, which seem to feel a need to spread a protective wing over the unpleasant regime in Belgrade. Leave aside for the moment the jackal policy of Moscow, meant primarily to maintain the illusion of power and a special interest in the Balkan region. What of Bill Clinton's policies? Despite the verbiage, their essence, too, is appeasement of Milosevic.

AFTER HIS inauguration, Clinton went back on his promise to lift the arms embargo on Bosnia. His procrastination reassured the Serbs. His refusal to offer an alternative to the Vance– Owen carve-up of Bosnia fueled the self-defeating territorial war between Bosnian Croats and Muslims in which Croatia squandered the moral assets it had gained in 1991. Clinton's most positive contribution was the pressure he brought on Croatia to end this senseless war. It was under the aegis of the U.S.-sponsored Washington agreements of March 1994 that Croats and Muslims agreed on a federal Bosnia-Hercegovina. The federation, however, was described in the same breath as a *confederation* of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia. Was this a hint to Karadzic's Serbs to pursue a partition of Bosnia by opting for their own confederal arrangement with Milosevic's Serbia?

Yes and no. As is frequently the case with Bill Clinton's foreign policy, contradictions piled up. On May 14, after a week of haggling at the U.S. embassy in Vienna, Clinton's point man, Charles Redman, got Muslims and Croats to agree on a map of Bosnian federation. According to this arrangement, Bosnian Muslims and Croats (jointly 55.31 per cent of Bosnia's population) would control 55 per cent of the land, to be divided into eight cantons (four Muslim, two Croat, and two joint). Bosnian Serbs (28.37 per cent of Bosnia's population) would be left, whether they joined the federation or not, with control of 42 per cent of the land, located in four separate areas, two of them contiguous with Serbia or Montenegro. The Bosnian capital of Sarajevo would form a separate district with 3 per cent of Bosnia's territory. In short, the percentages were 58 to 42 against the Serbs. The map had the additional advantage of cutting the Serb supply corridor at Brcko, without which the Serb domination of western Bosnia and the adjacent areas of Croatia could not be maintained.

The Vienna agreement did not account for the 14.15 per cent of Bosnia's population that declared itself "Yugoslav" in 1991, but even if all these "Yugoslavs" were covert Serbs (which was by no means the case), they would have raised the Bosnian Serb standing to just 42.52 per cent of the population.

On May 13, the day before the Vienna agreement was signed, Secretary of State Warren Christopher effectively erased everything the U.S. had accomplished in Vienna by accepting, in Geneva, the new plan of the so-called Contact Group (the U.S., Britain, France, Germany, Russia), which reduced the advantage the Bosnian Croats and Muslims hold over the Bosnian Serbs to 51–49 and dangled the possibility of a plebiscite for an Anschluss with Serbia within two years. This is a genuinely bad deal for Bosnia that would partition the country out of existence and reward Serbian atrocities. Fortunately, the unmalleable Karadzic finds it unacceptable, against Milosevic's better judgment.

The disagreement is really over the tactics for achieving a Greater Serbia. Karadzic is certain that aggressive policies cannot fail in the face of Clinton's cowardice and Franco-British equivocation, especially since Serbia

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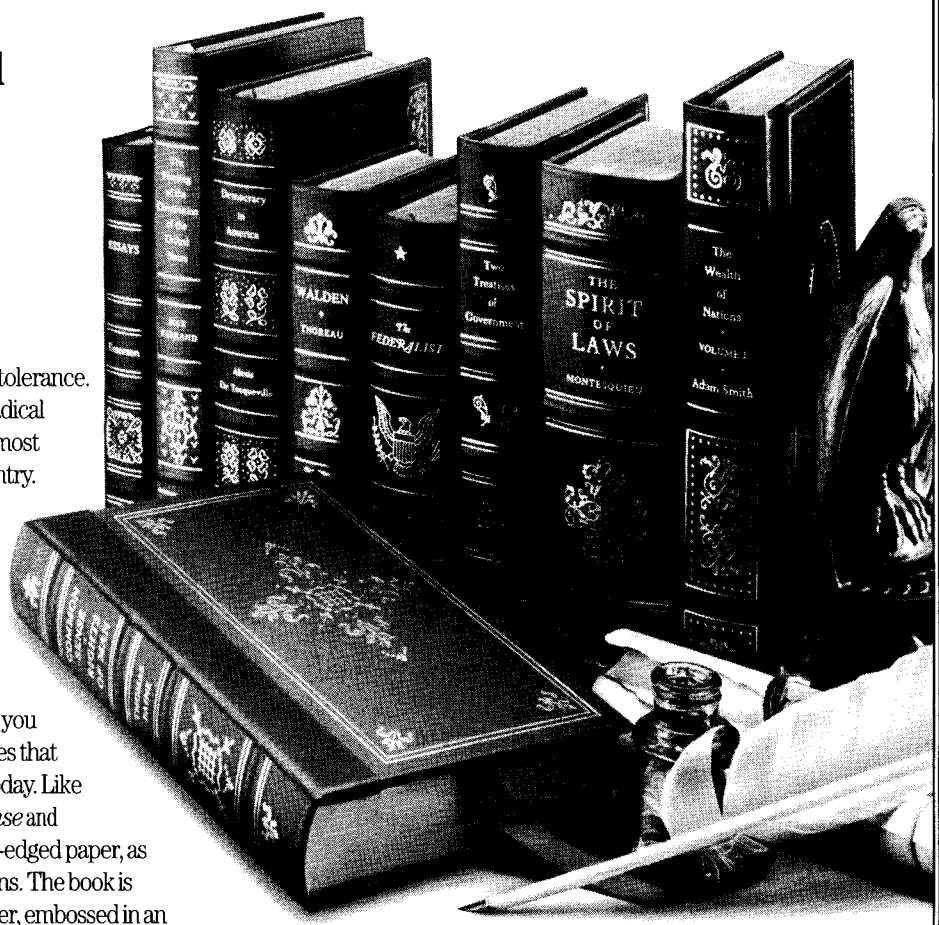

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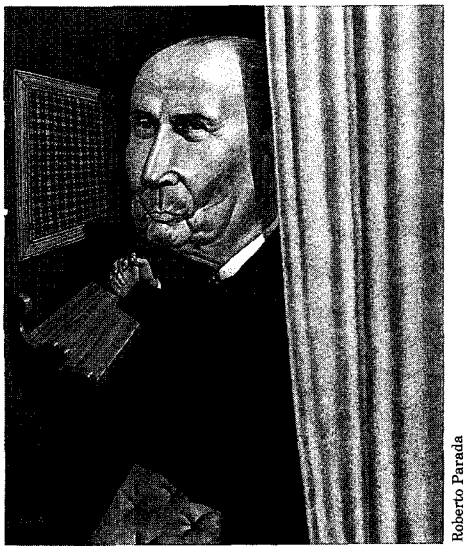
has Russian support. Milosevic is eager to accept an internationally guaranteed half of Bosnia without any further effort and with the bonus of getting the grueling sanctions against Serbia lifted. After all, Boris Yeltsin and his foreign minister, Andrei Kozyrev, are willing to reward Milosevic merely for voicing disagreement with Karadzic.

Bill Clinton has been working on the premise that Milosevic and Karadzic will start behaving better. But a do-nothing policy requires a modicum of cooperation from the other side. Instead, Milosevic and Karadzic have continued to call Clinton's bluffs. It would be a great surprise should Clinton actually lift the arms embargo on Bosnia by October 15. There are not a few advisors at his side who will continue to impress him with Kozyrev's increasingly frequent frowns and the danger of rows with Britain and France. The Balkan crisis is also a crisis of post–Cold War alliances. But the future of liberal democracy depends on principles as well as unity. □

Twilight of a President

BRIAN CROZIER



Roberto Parada

PARIS

PASCAL used to tell non-believers to "kneel every night and pray that you will believe in God." François Mitterrand used to kneel every night and pray that he would believe in socialism. One morning he woke up and found that he did.

This apocryphal anecdote says it all. The French president, ailing from cancer of the prostate, emerging from his second operation and on chemotherapy, is at the center of a bubbling controversy to which he is the major contributor. His second term expires next May. Will he survive until then? He thinks he will. How high, or low, will his reputation stand? That is a more complex question, which has dominated the French media since the long (four hours!) talk he had on September 3 with Franz-Olivier Giesbat, editor of *Le Figaro*.

This was his answer to a hostile book by Jean Montaldo which has topped the best-seller list for some months. A lawsuit was out of the question, so the president—who has always loved controversy and revels in intrigue, mounted a massive counter-offensive. He gave many hours of (presumably precious) presidential time, in his ornate office in the Elysée Palace, to a writer named Pierre Péan, handing him many damning wartime letters. The outcome, *Une jeunesse française* (*Youth of a Frenchman*), is packed with embarrassing disclosures.

With a past like his, known to many but hushed up in deference to the head of state, Mitterrand had chosen to make an extended, though not entirely honest, confession. He followed up the *Figaro* interview with a ninety-minute Q&A on national television on September 12. For a shocked mass audience, a very murky past poured out.

In that distant youth of his, Mitterrand was a member of the right-wing monarchists, whose newspaper, *Action Française*, he sold at street corners. He briefly joined the extreme right-wing Croix de Feu (Fiery Crosses). Some say he even dallied with the hooded Cagoulards, a kind of French Ku Klux Klan, but Péan denies this; the Fiery Crosses will have to suffice. Captured by the Germans during their whirlwind conquest of the northern half of France, Mitterrand escaped and rallied to the collaborationist Vichy government of Marshal Pétain.

Naturally, this Pétainist phase has attracted barbed questions from his interviewers. Was he anti-Semitic? for example. On this delicate theme Mitterrand allowed himself a touch of obfuscation. No, he had never been anti-Semitic. So, what about Vichy's anti-Jewish laws? He was too junior to know about them. Why, then, did he have a long friendship with René Bousquet, Vichy's police chief, who deported thousands of French Jews to Nazi Germany's death camps?

Mitterrand was ready for that one. He pointed out that he had not met Bousquet till 1949. From then on, until 1978, they had met a dozen times; he had not seen Bousquet again after 1986. He pointed out that Bousquet had been cleared of human-rights charges, first in 1949 and again in 1991. (The French historian Serge Klarsfeld told *Le Figaro* that in his opinion Mitterrand had used his authority to prevent a further trial, a charge that Mitterrand denies.) The Bousquet story came to a violent end when he was assassinated on June 8, 1993.

In early 1943, to his credit, François Mitterrand contacted the Resistance. He was flown secretly across the Channel to meet the British, crossed back again (one man in a boat), and became a Resister. After the war, he was in and out of the fast-changing governments of the Fourth Republic (11 times a minister). He very nearly committed political suicide in 1959, when he faked an attack on himself. Gunmen shot up his Peugeot, and Mitterrand leaped over a fence, ostensibly to escape. He escaped in reality when a charge of contempt for the law was dropped. He was never a Gaullist and bided his time until the Gaullist Fifth Republic (whose constitution he had bitterly attacked) brought him his chance of supreme power.

During his long period in the wilderness (roughly from 1958 to 1986), Mitterrand appeared to drift ever further leftward: cultivating good relations with the Moscow-line French Communist Party and with Moscow itself. By 1975, having been narrowly defeated by Valéry Giscard d'Estaing for the presidency, he forged an impressive Union of the Left—an alliance between the renovated Socialist Party he now led and the PCF.

Mr. Crozier, a longtime NR *contributing editor, is the author most recently of* Free Agent: The Unseen War, 1941–1991 *(HarperCollins).*

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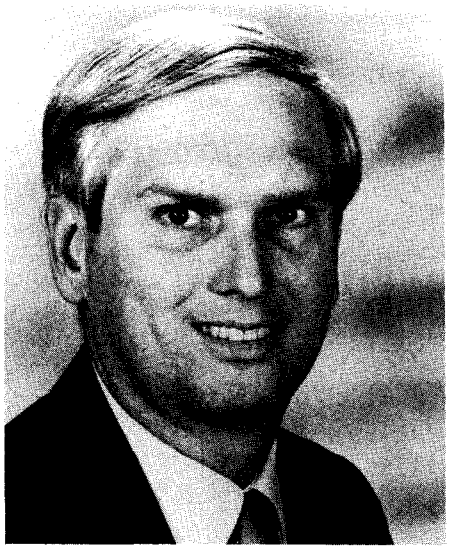

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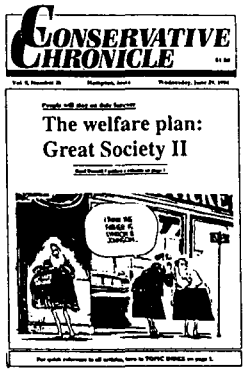

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In 1981, shortly after he won the presidency, I had a lengthy talk with his long-time confidant and newly appointed advisor on the secret services, Dr. François de Grossouvre, at the Elysée. "One thing you have to understand about François Mitterrand," he said, "is that he has a visceral hatred of the Communists."

This seemed odd, in the light of his having brought the Communist Party into his first government. De Grossouvre was right, though. By the time the Communist ministers walked out of Mitterrand's government in 1984, their formerly formidable party had been politically marginalized, to the benefit of the Socialists.

Last April, de Grossouvre was found dead, apparently by suicide. Earlier the body of former Prime Minister Pierre Bérégovoy had also been found, and a well-known businessman, Roger-Patrice Pelat, had reportedly died in hospital of a heart attack. Pelat was involved in a complicated corruption scandal which had splashed over the two other dead men. Now it is whispered that all three were murdered. Mitterrand's interviewers spared him questions on this sordid affair.

In pre-presidential times, Mitterrand was widely known as *"le Florentin"*—a reference to his long-standing interest in Machiavelli. As his first term progressed, he became known first as *"le Sphinx"* and then as *"Dieu."*

A fallible god, it has to be said. The Socialist Party is stunned by the "revelations" about Mitterrand—especially the younger members, from whom the truth had been kept. But they have chosen to say as little as possible. Silence is perhaps the safest option.

The French chameleon is still around. But already the presidential candidates are lining up: Prime Minister Balladur, who displeases nobody; Delors of Brussels, the Maastricht man; Chirac, the ex-PM; and others.

May 1995 is going to be worth watching. □

Sick Call in Illinois

JOHN R. COYNE JR.

CHICAGO

GIVEN the national debate, and given the situation in Illinois this election year, the health metaphor is inescapable. So let's indulge it.

In July, after a routine day of campaigning, Governor Jim Edgar was whisked into the operating room of a suburban hospital for a three-and-one-half-hour quadruple-bypass operation to relieve a coronary artery that was 95 per cent blocked. The surgery came as a total surprise. After an angioplasty in 1992, Edgar stepped up his exercise regimen, eschewed his favorite bacon double-cheeseburgers, and went on a diet of stems, twigs, bark, and glop. To no avail, however. And so the fear now—although never quite articulated—is that there is some basic defect that cannot be remedied by exercise, diet, and careful living.

As a result, the number-two man on the ticket, Lieutenant Governor Bob Kustra, is being looked at with renewed interest—and is raising some concerns about health himself, albeit of a different nature.

A week before the governor's bypass, Kustra announced that he was resigning to become a talk-show host on WLS-AM, and the governor apparently agreed to Kustra's career change. But a week after his surgery, Edgar was reportedly so impressed with his lieutenant governor's performance on a local television program that he asked him to remain on the ticket. And so Kustra, who previously had been extolling talk radio as a better forum for shaping public policy than state government, announced after a hospital meeting with Edgar that he was "looking forward to another term as an active lieutenant governor."

Why give up the excitement of talk radio and a six-figure salary for a warm-spit lieutenant governorship with a salary of $73,027? Perhaps, as Tom Tradup, president and general manager of WLS radio, was widely quoted as saying, it all boiled down to the fact that "Kustra was the only guy who could do nothing capably enough." Perhaps it was mental instability, a popular theory in neighborhood taverns. Or there's this possibility, expressed by Steve Neal of the *Chicago Sun-Times*: "Until Edgar's . . . surgery, Kustra may not have fully realized that he is a heartbeat away from the governorship . . . Edgar should be careful if Kustra challenges him to sprint up the stairs of the James R. Thompson Center. Kustra's agenda isn't necessarily Edgar's."

Before the surgery, the talk was that party pros had wanted Kustra to resign in favor of a woman, thus neutralizing the Carol Moseley-Braun factor. But such considerations were said to have been quickly deep-sixed when Republicans were faced with the real possibility that the governor would not finish out his term. In fact, some observers speculate that Edgar cut a deal in which he would resign for health reasons after the election, making Kustra governor sometime early in the second term. Kustra calls this "nonsense," and says emphatically—just as emphatically as he announced his resignation and then his return—"No deals whatsoever."

Obviously, there should have been a great political opportunity here for Democratic challenger Dawn Clark Netsch, whose campaign had been limping badly. But Mrs. Netsch can use none of it. Since she will soon be 68, references to longevity would be not only tasteless but counterproductive. As for the Republicans' backing off from naming a woman as running-mate when the possibility of succession became real, Mrs. Netsch herself is running with a woman, State Senator Penny Severns, who has—you guessed it—serious health problems.

In July, Senator Severns underwent a lumpectomy to remove a malignant tumor from her left breast. The surgery was unexpected, and she will be required to undergo radiation treatments and now, just when the campaign is hottest, chemotherapy. No one knows whether the side effects from the treatment will prevent her from actually campaigning. And when she does campaign, the message she is increasingly articulating is somewhat less than germane.

"If there's one message that Dawn and I hope that we can get across," said Senator Severns during a campaign stop, "it's the importance of self-exams and mammograms, which side

(Continued on page 84)

Mr. Coyne, who wrote speeches for Vice President Agnew and President Nixon, is the author of The Kumquat Statement.

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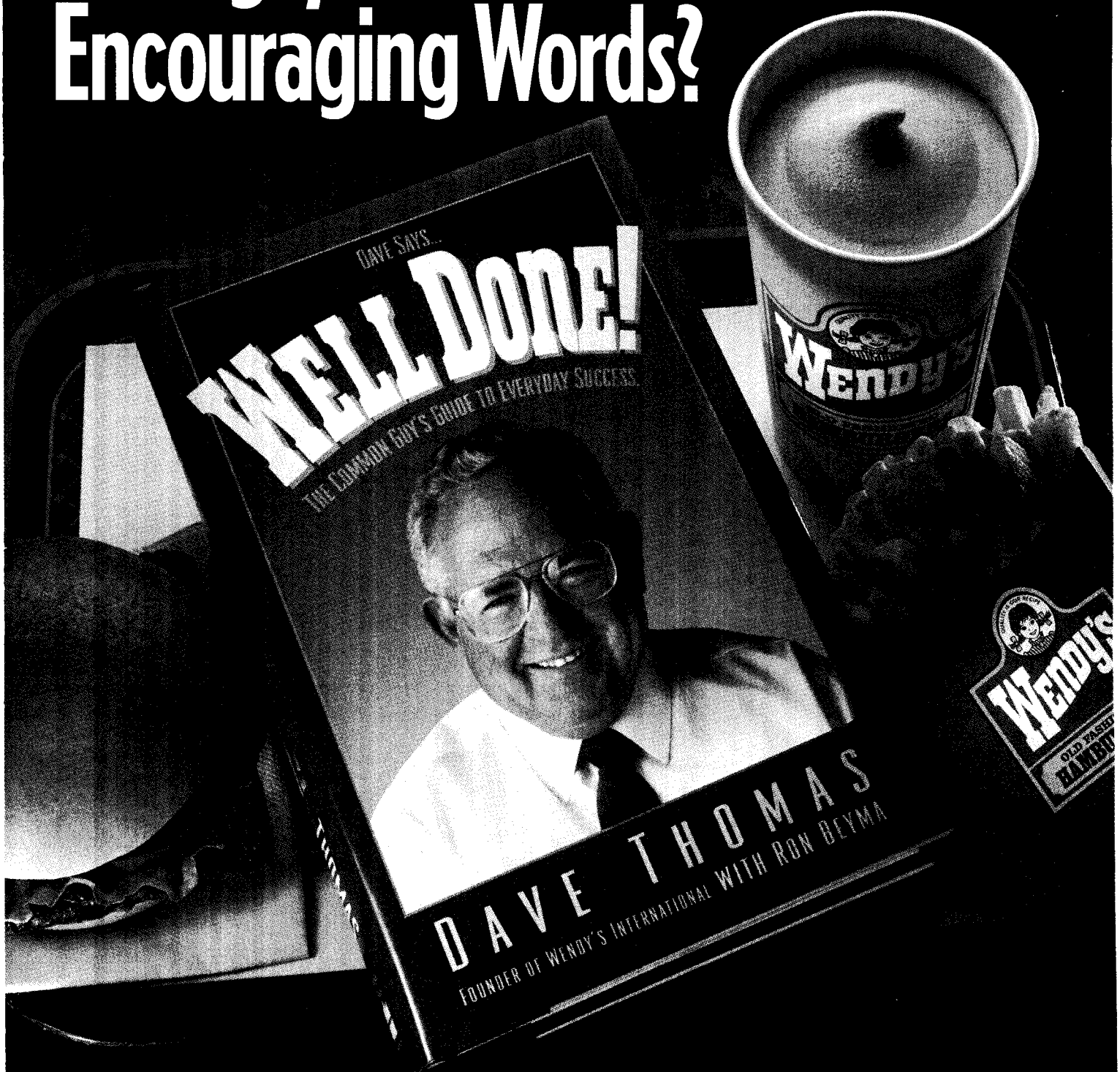
Hungry For Some Encouraging Words?



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RANDOM WALK

THESE days everyone on Wall Street is frantically gazing into his crystal ball to forecast where inflation is headed. I don't need a crystal ball. I get my information from Wayne Angell, the chief economist at Bear Stearns, and his assistants John Ryding and Melanie Hardy. Those who knew Angell in his Fed days know that he is a passionate goldbug. Now he and his team have developed a simple economic model based on fluctuations in the price of gold to predict future inflation trends.

Knowing nothing about any economic conditions or variables except today's price of gold, the Bear Stearns model can predict roughly 80 per cent of the change in the CPI over the next 12 months. For the number crunchers out there, here is the magic formula that unlocks the mystery of inflation: CPI next 12 months = $-5.32 + 0.024 \times$ price of gold today. The basic rule of thumb, which I hereby designate the Golden Rule, is that every $10-an-ounce increase in the price of gold translates into about a 0.2-percentage-point increase in the CPI rate over the next year.

And now here's what you've all been waiting for. What will be the inflation rate over the next 12 months, with gold now running at roughly $390 an ounce? Answer: 4 per cent. Should gold rise to $425, the forecast for the year ahead moves up to nearly 5 per cent. And to think that most firms on Wall Street spend millions of dollars a year on ivory-tower economists and usually get the wrong answer.

■ Another pessimistic inflation forecast comes from the monetarist camp. Spearheaded by Carnegie-Mellon economics professor and former Reagan advisor Allan Meltzer, the most recent meeting of the Shadow Open Market Committee concluded that inflation will rise to at least 3½ per cent and could reach 5 per cent in the next year, compared to last year's subdued 2.7 per cent CPI rate.

The SOMC closely watches the monetary base—composed of bank reserves and currency—as the key monetary leading indicator of future inflation. From the end of 1991 to early 1994, base growth averaged an annual rate of 10 per cent, way too high, according to the Shadow group. It is critical of the Federal Reserve for not tightening policy a year ago and believes that the Fed's restraining actions earlier this year were much too timid. But the SOMC has been more impressed with recent Fed moves that have reduced monetary-base growth to an 8.2 per cent yearly rate over the past three months and 8.7 per cent over the past year.

Nevertheless, higher inflation is "baked in the cake," according to Professor Meltzer, and it remains to be seen if the central bank can gradually reduce yearly base growth to around 7 per cent, which would be consistent with the 0 to 2 per cent inflation target favored by the SOMC. Should the Fed overreact to near-term inflation numbers, which are likely to look quite bad, hopes for an economic soft landing will evaporate and recession will result.

"Don't worry, we'll have you out of here in plenty of time to run for office in the next election."

For those with short memories, the hoped-for soft landing in 1989–90 turned into a nasty credit-crunch recession. This led voters to fire President Bush. Is Bill Clinton about to be Bush redux?

■ What happens to the stock market if inflation marches higher? It can only be bad for stocks. Stock-market investors are very keen on realizing capital gains from their equity investment. But the U.S. tax treatment of these gains has never allowed inflation indexation. That means we pay taxes on the inflated nominal portion of the gain as well as the real gain. This in turn means that last year's 2.7 per cent inflation rate translated into a 53 per cent tax rate on real capital gains (2.7 per cent inflation × 3 per cent historic real return, multiplied by the 0.28 per cent tax rate, then divided by the 3 per cent real rate).

Of course, the 53 per cent effective rate is much higher than the 28 per cent statutory rate, but historically—going back to 1950—an effective capital-gains rate below 60 per cent is actually bullish. During the bull markets of 1950 to 1966 and 1981 to the present, the effective capital-gains tax rate was indeed below 60 per cent. But the dreary 1966–1980 period of stagflation, which produced a long bear market, was characterized by high inflation and an effective capital-gains rate above 60 per cent, even reaching 120 per cent at times.

If inflation reaches 4 per cent, then today's 53 per cent effective capital-gains rate will jump to 65 per cent, representing an 18 per cent loss in the present discounted value of future wealth. From roughly 3900 on the Dow–Jones industrial average, this suggests a correction down to 3200. If inflation reaches 5 per cent and the effective capital-gains burden jumps to 75 per cent, then the Dow might drop to 2800.

Is there a nasty October surprise coming from the stock market? Newt Gingrich and Bob Dole won't mind, but Tom Foley surely will. Naturally, the timing of a major bear correction is impossible to predict, but a threatening trend is unmistakable. Cash looks very sexy to me right now. I think I am falling in love again. —GEKKO

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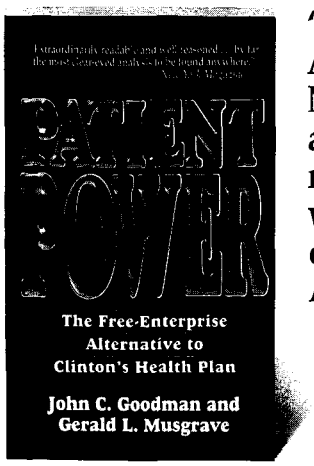

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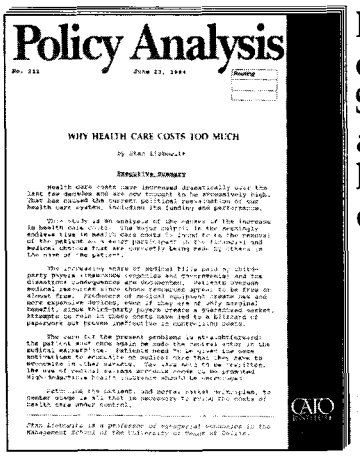

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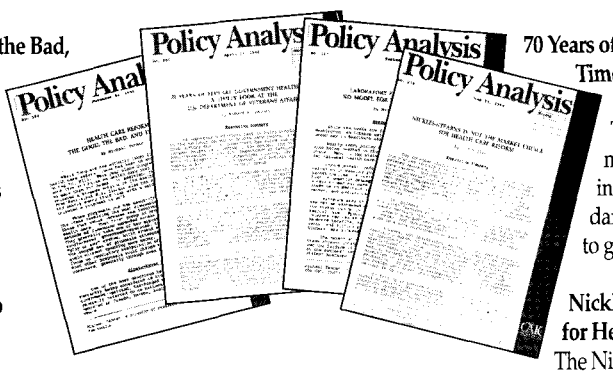

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Assault on the First Amendment

SPEECH IMPEDIMENTS

It never quite added up: the tendency of modern liberalism to favor strict regulation of property rights, and absolute freedom of speech. Now the mask is off, and free speech is out.

MICHAEL GREVE

JDONALD SILVA is a Congregational pastor in New Castle, New Hampshire. He had also been a writing instructor at the University of New Hampshire for thirty years, until April 1993, when UNH suspended him, charging that he had created an "intimidating, hostile, and offensive academic environment." The evidence consisted of two offbeat remarks Silva had made in class—one comparing "focus" in the writing process to sex, the other illustrating the meaning of "simile" with a famed belly dancer's comparison of her profession to "Jell-o on a plate with a vibrator under the plate." After seven female students complained, UNH administrators suspended Silva without pay and told him to undergo psychological counseling before petitioning for reinstatement.

When Silva, unable to reach an accommodation with the school, filed a lawsuit, UNH hired one of New Hampshire's top law firms to mount a scorched-earth defense. (A year and a half later, Silva has been provisionally reinstated under court order.) Commenting on the case, NOW and academics of a similar stripe have maintained that there can be no justice for women unless we deal resolutely with characters like Don Silva. Barbara White, a women's studies professor at UNH, explained that "the First Amendment and Academic Freedom (I'll call them FAF [*sic*]) have traditionally protected the rights of white heterosexual men." For others, "FAF . . . is just a yoke around our necks."

This unapologetic defense illustrates a sad truth: liberalism no longer stands unequivocally for free speech. Radical feminists like Catharine MacKinnon and Andrea Dworkin were the first to argue that women's equality required the suppression of pornography and of "verbal conduct" that might give offense. Women's groups have waged an aggressive legal campaign to suppress pro-life protests—including peaceful sit-ins and civil disobedience—around abortion clinics. Other liberal constituencies have also latched onto the anti-free-speech agenda. Civil-rights organizations have lobbied successfully to expand civil-rights laws so as to prohibit not only discriminatory conduct but also offensive speech. "Hate speech" laws, stiffer penalties for crimes motivated by racial or ethnic animosity, and campus speech codes are among the best-known examples. And recently it came to public attention that federal housing bureaucrats, egged on by advocates for "the homeless," were investigating private citizens for speaking out against the placement of shelters and similar facilities for the "handicapped" in their neighborhoods.

Thinning the Ranks

SOME ON the Left have so far resisted the urge to suppress speech that certain groups find offensive. Traditional civil libertarians—perhaps best exemplified by columnist Nat Hentoff and ACLU President Nadine Strossen—have maintained an uncompromising stand on the First Amendment, even as many of their political allies have turned against it. But the civil-libertarian ranks have grown alarmingly thin, and they are confronted with an army of partisan agitators—on everything from racial justice to sexual equality to homosexual rights—who are far more ambitious. It is not a foregone conclusion that the civil libertarians will lose this battle. But it is not at all unlikely, and there would be a certain logic to it.

Liberalism (in the contemporary sense) has never had a fundamental problem with coercion. Since the 1930s, it has championed state power over "mere economic rights" to facilitate the collective pursuit of equality. "Personal" rights were held to be different; privacy (that

Mr. Greve is executive director of the Center for Individual Rights, a public-interest law firm, which represents Don Silva.

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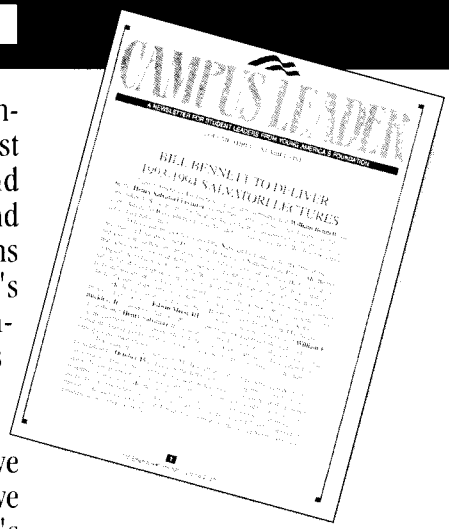

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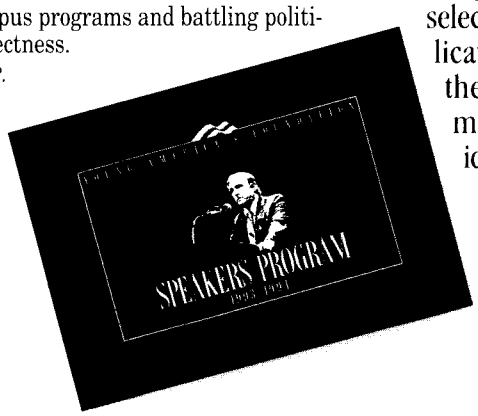

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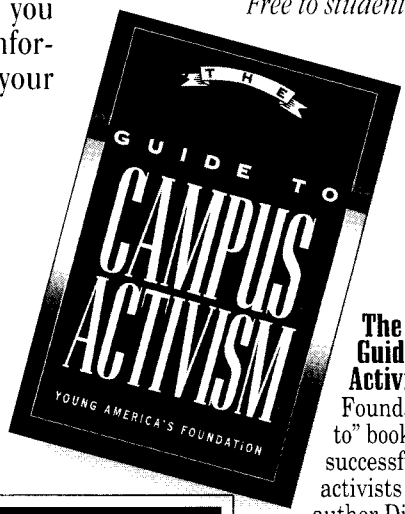

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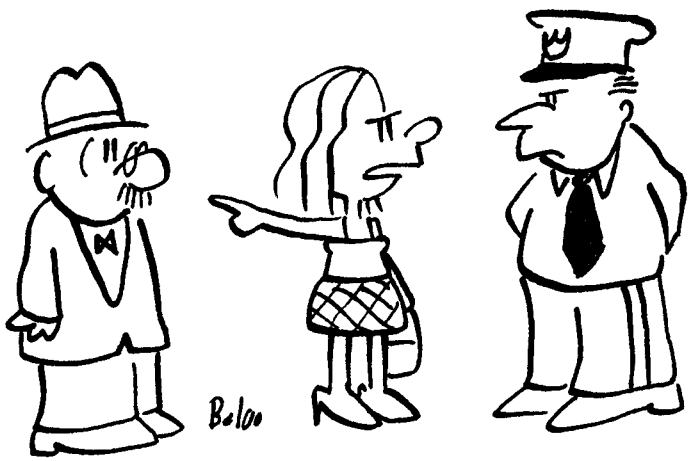
is, abortion and non-marital sex) and free speech, liberalism held, must enjoy broad constitutional protection. Unlike property rights, these liberties did not seem to threaten the pursuit of equality. But this dichotomy was never totally secure. In many settings, speech is as much an instrument of power as money is. It may therefore raise the same egalitarian concerns that, from a liberal's perspective, require expansive regulation of business. And in fact, New Deal liberals advocated government regulation of speech in areas such as broadcasting, advertising, and political campaigns.

So liberalism's support for free speech was always more selective and instrumental than its absolutist rhetoric implied. Its tendency was to turn the First Amendment into a citadel for academics, advocates, and progressive social constituencies. As long as *they* could speak in a robust and wide-open debate, reason would triumph over prejudice, enlightened public opinion over entrenched political and economic power.

This confidence in the harmony of civil-libertarian values and egalitarian aspirations is a thing of the past. Progressive opinion has come to doubt that free speech and debate will cure an irredeemably racist, reactionary society; and once this doubt seeps in, it is not so easy to explain why the pursuit of equality should stop at the water's edge of speech. University professors, including many legal scholars, now stress that speech can be an instrument of oppression as well as of liberation; that it may cement existing "power structures"; and that powerless minorities should receive special protection from offensive speech. This view of the First Amendment is no longer marginal within the academy (consider, for example, *Democracy and the Problem of Free Speech* by Cass Sunstein, a widely respected legal scholar), and it has begun to make its mark on the law.



"This sicko tipped his hat *to me!"*

During the civil-rights era, the Supreme Court's jurisprudence reflected a faith in the congruence between social equality and free speech. The Supreme Court defined "speech" very broadly, so as to include preferred forms of leftist activism such as demonstrations, pickets, boycotts, and litigation. At the same time, it insisted that the state must not regulate speech on the basis of its content, for only government neutrality would protect social reformers from officials bent on preserving the old order. But more recent decisions undermine the traditional approach to free speech, especially the neutrality principle. The Court has opened the door to egalitarian inroads on the First Amendment.

In a 1993 case, *Wisconsin* v. *Mitchell*, the Justices examined a hate-crime law that significantly increased criminal penalties if the defendant "intentionally select[ed] the [victim] because of the race, religion, color, disability, sexual orientation, national origin, or ancestry of that person." The Court unanimously upheld the statute on the grounds that it was directed not at expression but only at "conduct unprotected by the First Amendment."

It is not at all clear, however, that this is so. The Wisconsin statute subjects defendants to increased penalties solely on the basis of their motives and beliefs. In this critical respect, it raises First Amendment concerns that would ordinarily give the Justices pause. Even in the extremely cursory *Mitchell* opinion, the Court acknowledged these concerns. But it responded that a discriminatory motive "plays the same role under the Wisconsin statute as it does under federal and state discrimination laws"; and these, the Court said, had always been upheld against constitutional challenge.

The Wisconsin statute indeed follows the pattern of many civil-rights laws, in that it punishes the "arbitrary selection" of crime victims. The comparison, though, is preposterous. The employer who refrains from "arbitrarily selecting" employees on account of their race is praised as an equal-opportunity employer. Are we now supposed to celebrate "equal-opportunity criminals" who kill and maim indiscriminately? This obvious absurdity, if nothing else, shows that the statute was *not* a content-neutral regulation of conduct. In contrast to employment laws that prohibit discriminatory conduct irrespective of the employer's motives, it is aimed squarely at motives and beliefs. By likening hate crime to employment discrimination, and hate-crime laws to civil-rights laws, the Court suggested that just about any speech regulation is constitutional if it is written as, and officially declared to be, a "civil rights" law.

Civil-rights regulators, especially in higher education, drew precisely this conclusion. In trade publications such as *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, university lawyers cheerfully explained that campus speech codes (most of which had been scuttled by an earlier Supreme Court decision, *RAV* v. *St. Paul*) could be reinstituted if they were rewritten as regulations of "verbal conduct" and prefaced with some general anti-discrimination incantation. Federal agencies reacted with equal swiftness. In July 1993, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission proposed new rules that defined "workplace harassment" so as to prohibit speech (or "verbal conduct") that "denigrates or shows hostility or aversion toward an individual because of his/her race, color, religion, gender, national origin, age, or disability, or that of

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End of the Migration Era—Time for a Moratorium

If the grass is always greener on the other side, then a quick glance at our daily papers tells us that, for an awful lot of people worldwide, the grass they covet grows in the United States. Never before in the history of this nation have so many people wanted to move here. Never before have we faced so many difficult choices in deciding who, out of millions of basically nice folks, we will allow to enter. A storm is brewing. The differential pressure inside and outside our borders has left the nation vulnerable to unregulated surges of people seeking our shores.

This acute pressure can only grow in intensity. Any loophole in our immigration processes, any opportunity for exploitation or illegal border crossing, will produce uncontrolled waves of immigrants. This may seem hard to believe, but recently, the United Nations named 17 countries as "potential Somalias," or nations that could face collapse, including Mexico, Egypt, Nigeria and Algeria. In each nation or region, we see similar phenomena—a breakdown of civil order and a large, growing, poorly-educated and dissatisfied population in danger of starvation. Civil war, separatist movements, generalized civil and social breakdown—each produce large refugee flows.

Why do we need immigration?

- **Do we need more people? Are we underpopulated?**
- **Is there an acute labor shortage in the U.S.?**
- **Are the water tables in Florida, California and Texas flooded?**
- **Is there an excess of prime farmland in America?**
- **Is there too much wildlife in our national parks?**
- **Is there an overabundance of beach front property to be developed?**
- **Do we need immigration to improve public education?**
- **Do we need immigration to reduce crime in America?**
- **Do we need immigration to improve medical care?**
- **Are there too many acres of wetlands in need of paving?**
- **Are we too homogeneous to be a legitimate nation?**
- **Does our national security depend, in any way, on significant immigration?**

FAIR believes the answer to each of these questions is no. If we don't need immigration, why have it? The answer seem to be perceived tradition and habit. Is this how we want to form national policies?

Polls show most Americans want immigration reduced, and FAIR thinks the nation could use a moratorium or "time-out" on immigration for a while.

We must have a better plan in the future. We must have a better understanding now. We need to understand that the age when international migration could solve human problems is over for the overwhelming majority of mankind. Our role must be to try to help people improve conditions where they are, within our capacity as a nation. If we and the other developed nations are to control our own destinies and respective national security, then we must recognize that most people around the world will have to "bloom where they're planted."

by Dan Stein, Executive Director

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his/her relatives, friends, or associates." Epithets, slurs, and "negative stereotyping," along with all "written or graphic material" that displays "hostility or aversion," would provide disgruntled employees with a federal cause of action.

Guidelines published by the Education Department's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) this March go even further in defining "harassment." They seem to subject anything a professor or student might write or say to official oversight. When legal commentator Stuart Taylor asked a high-ranking OCR lawyer whether a law professor's classroom discussion of a controversial subject such as

Brrrr!

A CANDIDATE for the New York Assembly recently distributed leaflets bragging of his opposition to a proposed shelter for the homeless on the Upper West Side of Manhattan. His timing was perfect—had he done so earlier in his campaign, he would have been courting vengeance from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Last November HUD notified three residents of Berkeley, California, who had opposed the conversion of a seedy neighborhood motel into a permanent residence for homeless people that they were under investigation for violating the Fair Housing Act. Under the FHA, it is illegal to "coerce, intimidate, threaten, or interfere with" any person exercising his housing rights. It specifically proscribes "harassment of persons because of race, color, religion, sex, handicap, familial status, or national origin." Since the Berkeley shelter's residents were to include drug addicts and alcoholics, whom federal law deems "handicapped," the Berkeley Three stood accused of illegal discrimination. HUD warned them that if it found probable cause, it would refer the case to the U.S. Department of Justice for civil litigation that could result in fines of up to $50,000 for each defendant.

What HUD thought might be a plot to discriminate against the handicapped began in July 1992, when Alexandra White, her husband, Joseph Deringer, and a neighbor, Richard Graham, saw a newspaper story describing a proposal by Resources for Community Development, a private, non-profit developer of low-income housing. RCD planned to convert the Bel Air Motel—a hangout for prostitutes on University Avenue in a semi-residential area near downtown Berkeley—into a 35-unit, single-room-occupancy housing project. As they learned more about RCD's plan, Miss White, Mr. Deringer, and Mr. Graham became alarmed. The Bel Air Motel is near two liquor stores and a nightclub, hardly an appropriate locale for people with alcohol problems. And the proposed shelter had neither on-site treatment nor adequate supervision of the residents. Furthermore, that section of University Avenue has another eight or nine seedy motels, and Miss White, Mr. Deringer, and Mr. Graham believed that all of these were candidates for conversion.

So they organized to oppose the project. Whenever the Bel Air conversion came up at a public hearing, they appeared to speak against it. They distributed flyers in the neighborhood and sent letters and op-ed pieces to newspapers. They helped found a University Avenue neighborhood association that has since grown to include area merchants.

When the zoning board ruled in favor of the project, the Berkeley Three brought a suit alleging conflict of interest against Linda Maio, a board member who was also president of Resources for Community Development. The lawsuit alleged that Miss Maio had violated state and local laws by failing to recuse herself from board decisions concerning the Bel Air conversion. The suit asked for an injunction to overturn the zoning board's approval of the project and return the matter for reconsideration by the board without Miss Maio's participation. That is when the project's boosters counterattacked.

On November 1, 1993, two weeks before the trial on the conflict-of-interest charges was to begin, Marianne Lawless, executive director of Housing Rights, Inc., filed a discrimination complaint against the Three. Her organization was not directly involved in the Bel Air conversion, but it strongly favored the project. Miss Lawless alleged that the three "have impaired our ability to ensure equal housing by impeding the proposed conversion of the Bel Air Motel." Her complaint continued: "One of their principal arguments against this project is that it will benefit people that are diagnosed as mentally disabled or disabled through substance abuse." Thus, she argued, their actions violated the rights of a class protected by the Fair Housing Act.

This complaint, as the Three pointed out, looked suspiciously like a SLAPP (strategic lawsuit against public participation). In a SLAPP, a developer sues leaders of protests against his project, claiming that the delays caused by the protests are harming his commercial interests. The California Legislature was so concerned about the chilling effect of SLAPPs that in 1993 it amended the state's Code of Civil Procedure to discourage such suits. The preamble to the measure reads: "The Legislature finds and declares that it is in the public interest to encourage continued participation in matters of public significance, and that this participation should not be chilled through abuse of the judicial process."

Unfortunately, HUD is above state law, and the department seems to have few qualms about chilling speech. The November 1993 HUD letter to Miss White, Mr. Deringer, and Mr. Graham requested copies of all their speeches, articles, letters, and other writings on the proposed development. It also asked for a listing of "any uses similar to Bel Air Motel conversion proposed for areas covered

Mr. Creque is a freelance writer in Moraga, California.

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affirmative action might violate the guidelines, the lawyer in effect admitted it could.

One would hope that the Supreme Court would not tolerate the enforcement of these regulations in a context such as Stuart Taylor's hypothetical or Don Silva's actual case. But one can no longer be entirely sure. This June, in *Madsen* v. *Women's Health Center*, the Justices upheld a trial court's injunction that, among other things, barred anti-abortion protestors from entrances to abortion clinics. The bar applied not only to identified individuals who had arguably violated an earlier, similar injunction but also to all individuals acting "in con-

by your organization which you have opposed, endorsed, or not opposed."

On June 27, David Bryden, the attorney representing the Three, wrote to LaVera Gillespie, HUD's Regional Director of Fair Housing and equal opportunity, questioning the basis for the discrimination complaint. In reply, Miss Gillespie said "evidence was produced during the investigation that your clients wrote news articles which referenced the mental disability of the intended residents of the proposed project as a reason for the denial of the project."

Mr. Bryden also questioned the standing of Housing Rights, Inc., and Marianne Lawless to bring the complaint, since they did not allege that his clients had harmed them. After all, HRI wasn't the developer of the Bel Air site, and Miss Lawless was not claiming to be a mentally disabled victim of discrimination.

Miss Gillespie replied that fair-housing organizations have standing to file discrimination complaints with HUD "if they allege that they diverted resources to address a violation of the Fair Housing Act which was within their organizational mission." Hence ordinary citizens were investigated by the Federal Government because their vocal opposition to a housing project spurred its advocates to take action to save it.

Mr. Bryden sent HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros and Assistant Secretary for Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity Roberta Achtenberg copies of his letter to Miss Gillespie. The letter and Miss Gillespie's reply became attachments to a press release that Mr. Bryden issued on July 25. If Mr. Cisneros and Miss Achtenberg hadn't noticed Mr. Bryden's letter when they first received it, they certainly did when the first stories and op-ed pieces started appearing in the newspapers. There was coverage in the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Post*; NBC presented the story on its *Nightly News*; and CBS's *60 Minutes* prepared a segment.

MR. CISNEROS and Miss Achtenberg apparently found in a matter of days what HUD's San Francisco office could not determine in nine months of investigation. In an August 11 statement, Secretary Cisneros tacitly admitted how far out of hand his agency had gotten:

> HUD must always respect Americans' First Amendment rights as inviolate and never undertake any activities to stifle free speech. . . . It would be dangerous if government agencies were to exercise the power to judge or to censor what people may say in pursuit of their political objectives. It is in direct contradiction of a constitutional principle for large and remote bureaucracies with their intimidating legal and police powers to assume a role as judges or guardians of thought, public expression, or political discourse.

One week after this statement, HUD's Fair Housing and Equal Opportunity office declared that the actions of Miss White, Mr. Deringer, and Mr. Graham "amounted to protected free speech under the First Amendment to the United States Constitution" and therefore "do not constitute a violation of the Fair Housing Act."

In an August 22 op-ed piece in the *Washington Post*, Assistant Secretary Achtenberg explained that "we found that the citizens who opposed the Bel Air project had simply exercised their First Amendment rights to influence the outcome of a government decision. While their opposition and conduct may have angered the project's supporters, they were playing by the rules." But Miss Achtenberg added: "Berkeley will not be the last instance of friction between fair-housing and free-speech rights. We can anticipate more cases of this kind."

Indeed we can. In New York, HUD was until recently investigating the Irving Place Community Coalition for opposing the plans of a non-profit organization, Community Access, to build low-income housing for the mentally disabled near Gramercy Park. Community Access had bid to purchase a building in the neighborhood from First Nationwide Bank. The Irving Place Community Coalition apparently found out about the project only after a contract for the purchase had been signed. Within a few weeks, the bank withdrew the offer of sale under pressure from the coalition, and Community Access filed a complaint with HUD. (In the light of the controversy over such cases, Community Access withdrew its complaint against the coalition in early September, HUD's investigation of the bank continues.)

Not surprisingly, the Berkeley Three are not overwhelmed by HUD's newfound support for the First Amendment. Says Mr. Deringer, "There's some comfort in knowing that freedom of the press works sometimes. There's some pressure off because we were facing legal action we didn't have the money to defend against. But we're not at all happy, because we know our rights were violated, and we're quite concerned that other people are being treated the same way."

—STUART CREQUE

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cert" with them. Yet demonstrations in *favor* of abortion were still permitted. Amazingly, the Court held that the injunction was nonetheless content neutral.

If there is some solace, it is that the Supreme Court has endorsed egalitarian restraints on heretofore protected speech with grudging pragmatism rather than enthusiasm. *Madsen* invalidated portions of the trial court's sweeping injunction, and *Mitchell* at least paid lip service to the principle that government must not regulate speech directly on the basis of its content. The opinions—both written, in an ostentatiously statesmanlike tone, by Chief Justice Rehnquist—do not embrace the egalitarian agenda; rather, they read like tactical concessions to shrill constituencies, intended to lower the temperature of overheated controversies.

False Hope

IT MIGHT BE tempting to think, then, that the damage has been limited. One might even be inclined to welcome the demise of First Amendment absolutism and liberalism's newfound concern with the harmful effects of certain forms of speech. We need not be so alarmed by decisions that, in the end, restrict speech only at the margin, or weep over the racist diatribes that may be lost in the wake of *Mitchell*. And the pro-life movement will survive *Madsen*.

But dismissing this as judicial pragmatism and tactical games fails to recognize that the egalitarian agenda is the most serious and thoroughgoing assault on free speech in decades. McCarthyism, which arose with the Communist threat, disappeared long before it. The egalitarians will not be tamed so easily. And unlike the Religious Right—which, far from being able to censor anybody, has to suffer the expulsion of *its* speech from many a public forum where it might make a difference—the egalitarian censors occupy the command posts of government, universities, and other elite institutions. They are already well positioned to suppress speech.

The egalitarian enthusiasm for regulating speech is particularly pernicious because it strikes at the heart of free speech without tempering the excesses of First Amendment absolutism. Conservative scholars such as Walter Berns and Robert Bork always wanted to protect rational discourse; they simply doubted that the same protection should be extended to "expression" such as nude dancing or Nazi marches. This perspective has struck libertarians as unduly narrow. But it does have the virtue of extending the most categorical constitutional protection to speech that is eminently worthy of protection and unquestionably at the core of the First Amendment. Egalitarianism, in contrast, would protect speech not according to its intrinsic value or its value to democratic government but according to its contribution to the quest for equality. The same ACLU that supported the state of Wisconsin in *Mitchell* and shamefully sat out *Madsen* still defends panhandling as free speech and insists that a bum with a very bad body odor and a habit of accosting female patrons must be given free access to a public library in Morristown, New Jersey.

Like the Supreme Court, the ACLU has made tactical concessions to the egalitarian agenda, while still trying to maintain its historic commitment to free speech. For example, it has supported hate-crime laws but opposes codes that would regulate speech directly. But such nice distinctions miss the point of the egalitarian agenda, which is to prohibit hateful speech not because it is worthless or not really speech at all but because it offends the sensibilities of women, racial minorities, and other preferred constituencies. This logic does not stop at regulating "hate" speech, however broadly defined. Since a scholar's argument can be far more painful than a drunkard's epithet, government on this reasoning could and perhaps *should* ban Charles Murray's or Thomas Sowell's books from college campuses.

At the same time, others must endure and, indeed, embrace the "speech" of oppressed minorities, no matter how raucous. The members of ACT-UP demand their right to flaunt their lifestyle on the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral. Yet a professor who utters two slightly off-color remarks in class can be summarily suspended and declared a mental case. In short, the animating principle of egalitarianism is not moderation or civility; it is thought control and coerced sensitivity toward professional victims.

This agenda may still look like a fringe concern, and it may still seem unlikely that mainstream liberalism will jettison its long-standing commitment to free speech. But this would not be the first time liberalism has sacrificed high principle for expediency. In the late 1960s, the civil-rights movement discarded the ideal of color blindness like so much useless baggage and turned to quotas. The liberals who held onto the ideal found a home in the pages of *Commentary* but lost any connection to a real political constituency. The civil libertarians who still defend free speech as a matter of principle may soon find themselves in the same position. Much as quotas became part of the fabric of American politics, the suppression of speech may soon become an integral part of the welfare state's agenda.

The egalitarian assault on free speech can still be arrested. Liberal institutions are no longer as self-confident as they were when they managed to ram quotas down our throats. Liberalism has lost public support even in its original domain of economic regulation. Voters have just about had it with a government that treats their property as a collective resource to be doled out to favored constituents. They aren't quite ready to dismantle the bureaucratic state, and they are still reluctant to oppose anything that sails under the banner of equality and civil rights. But they *can* be persuaded that liberalism should not be permitted to renege on its promise to exempt speech from its meddling. They can be persuaded, that is, that a government which mucks around in every other corner of the marketplace must at least steer clear of the marketplace of ideas. Rallying the fairness and good sense of the voters in the fight against the leftist censors will be a big task. But it would be a grave mistake to wait for the Supreme Court to carry the main burden of that fight. □

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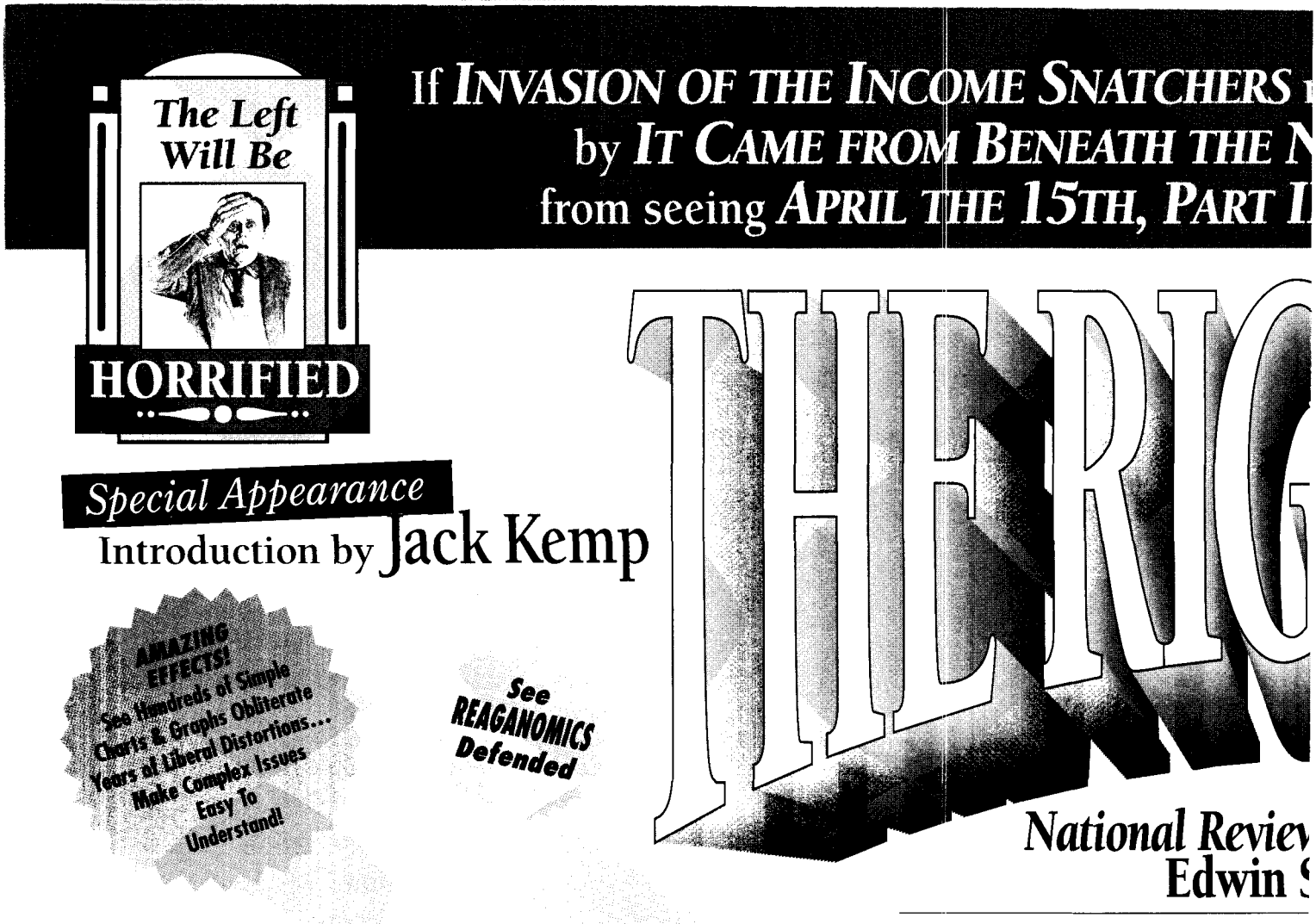
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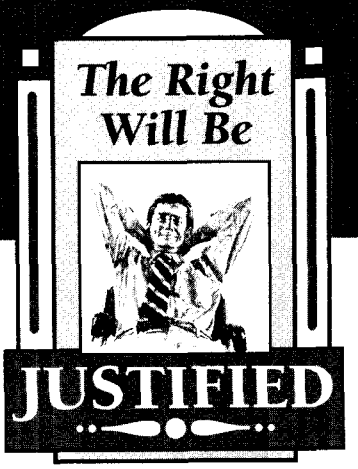

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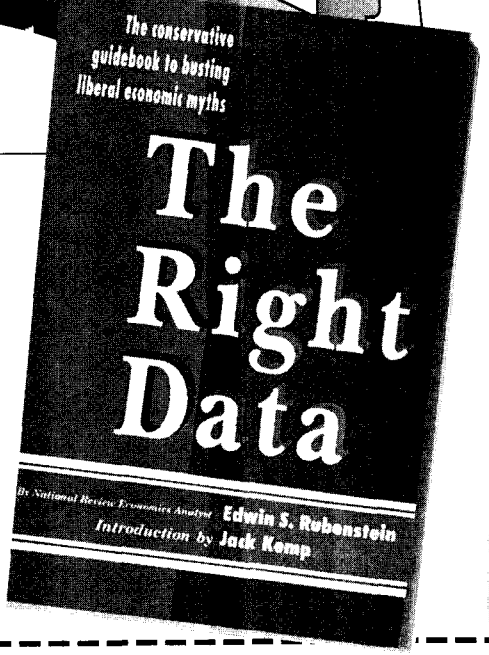
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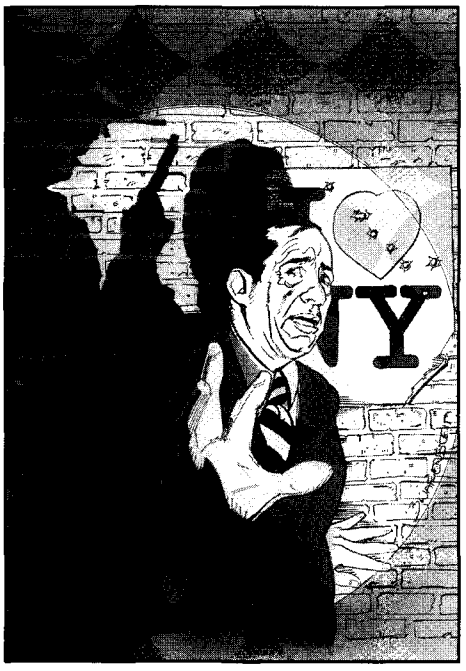

The Empire State Strikes Back

SUPER MARIO

For all the high hopes, Mario Cuomo has never gone farther than governor of New York; and soon he may be less than that. But New Yorkers will have their problems and their taxes still.

RICHARD BROOKHISER

MARIO CUOMO, almost presidential candidate, almost Supreme Court Justice, almost intellectual, and three-term governor of New York, might well lose his last bid for re-election, and not to some real comer, but to a Republican state legislator named George Pataki, a homunculus grown in a retort by Senator Alfonse D'Amato.

This is not as big news as it seems, if you know the numbers. Mario Cuomo has rarely been an electoral powerhouse. In 1982, his first gubernatorial race, he got 51 per cent of the vote against a political tyro. In 1990, his third race, he got 53 per cent against two tyros who split the anti-Cuomo vote. Only in 1986 did he roll up a landslide (65 per cent). Yet he has seemed to bestride the political world like a colossus, while Pataki-men walk under his huge legs and peep about.

Cuomo's prominence is a testimony to the resonance of his rhetoric, at both the state and the national levels. Until recently, the two levels were mutually reinforcing. If he is vulnerable now, it is because he has lost one of his echo chambers.

Cuomo's verbal gift first showed itself when he beat New York City Mayor Ed Koch in the 1982 Democratic primary. Koch's loss was widely interpreted as self-destruction. "Have you ever lived in the suburbs?" Koch asked in a notorious pre-election interview. "It's sterile. It's nothing. It's wasting your life." But that wasn't the whole story. In their last debate, Cuomo went after Koch like a liberal buzz saw. Had Democrats done too much for the poor? "Hardly enough," said Cuomo. Koch's quasi-conservatism would "cut our throats." Cuomo used his summation to urge voters to take part in "the high holy day of our political process." It was corn, but it was sweet.

Governor Cuomo moved up to the big leagues two years later, with his keynote speech at the 1984 Democratic convention. Cuomo assailed Ronald Reagan as a social Darwinian who believed only in "taking care of the strong," while Democrats "would rather have laws written by . . . the man called the 'world's most sincere Democrat,' St. Francis of Assisi." Two months later, he delivered a second major address, at Notre Dame, on the subject of abortion. He and his wife, he began disarmingly, believed that "life in the womb should be protected, even if five of nine Justices of the Supreme Court disagree. . . . But not everyone in our society agrees with me and Matilda." The Catholic officeholder, he concluded, must bow to social consensus. The keynote speech was thunder and lightning; the Notre Dame speech was earnest and calm. It seemed there was nothing he could not do.

But Cuomo's texts had a way of shriveling the morning after. Taken together, the 1984 speeches are an intellectual shell game: in San Francisco he brought in saints to judge politicians, while in South Bend he counseled believers to follow the polls. Where is the pea? Yet the power of his delivery was real enough. He also took aim at targets that liberals really wanted to hit. At the height of Reaganism, Cuomo attacked the pernicious new orthodoxy far more effectively than Tip O'Neill or Walter Mondale. The media ganglia of Washington, D.C., and New York City took note.

Cuomo was rewarded by being considered a long-shot presidential candidate during the next two election cycles. In September 1987, he took a trip to Moscow; when he returned, he gave a show-and-tell speech to the Council on Foreign Relations. *He's going global*, we all said. In December 1991, a chartered plane waited at the Albany airport to take him to New Hampshire to make the filing deadline for the primary. *He's going for it*, we all said. But in the event, he stayed home.

Government as Usual

WHAT DID he do there? The Republicans attack him as a taxer and a spender. Cuomo denies their charges, and he is frequently correct, though only on points of detail that do not affect the total picture.

Mr. Brookhiser, an NR *senior editor, is a columnist for the* New York Observer.

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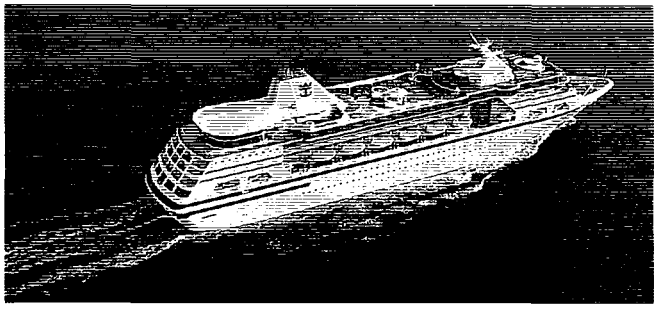

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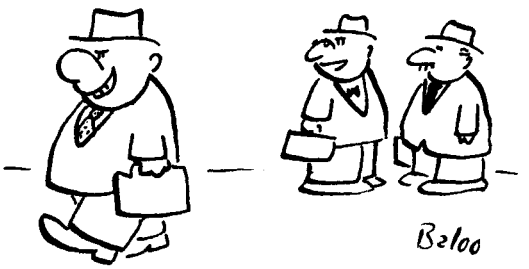
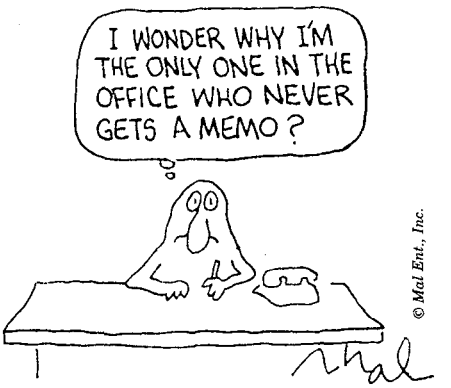
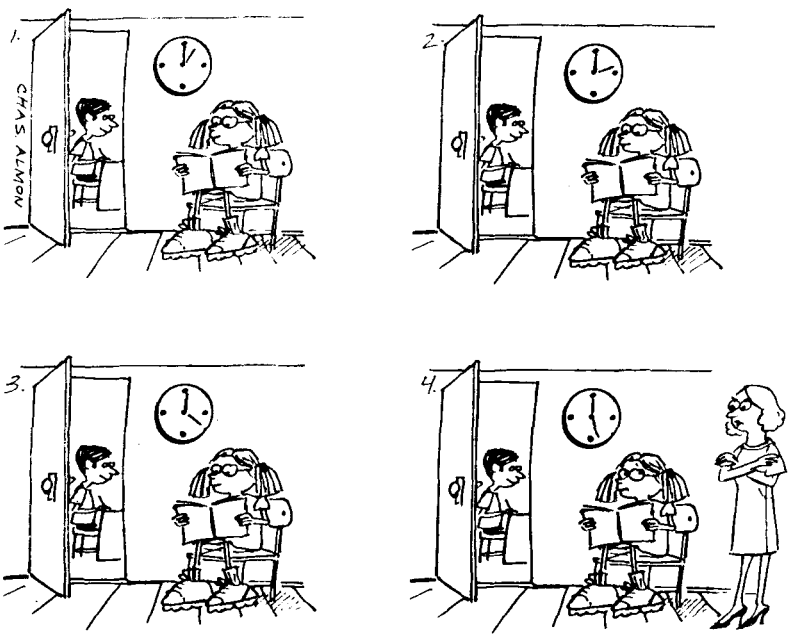
". . . I know we just met, but I'm psychic so thank you in advance for asking me to marry you."



"Every time I vote to subsidize an industry, that bum votes to regulate *it!"*





"How many times have I told you and Billy not to play doctor?"

A Familiar Pattern

Joining others who behold
Mr. Clinton being rolled,
Castro, with a hand so bad
Playing Old Maid would be mad,
Parlays rafters into what's
Taking Clinton's poker pots.

W. H. VON DREELE

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MACNELLY
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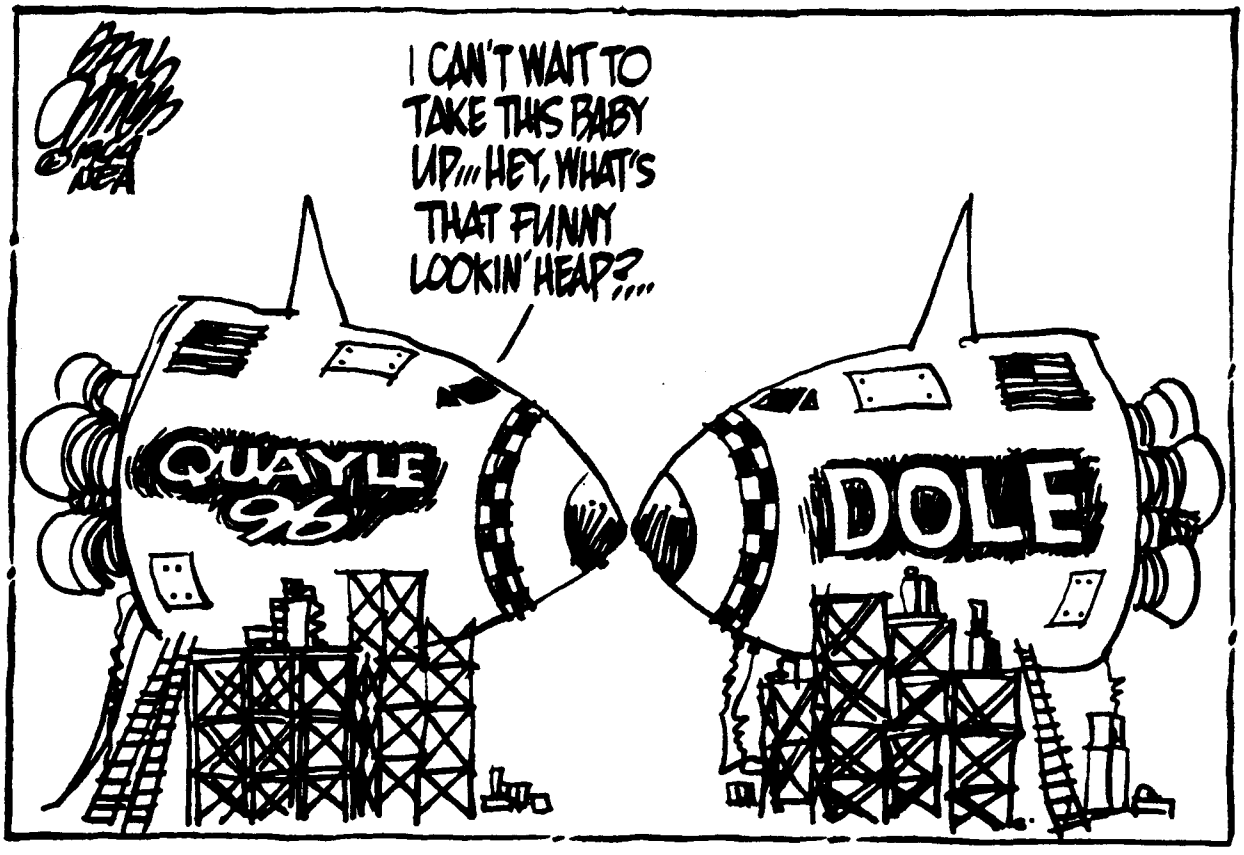
Today's Clinic: Holistic World Population Aerobics



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For instance, Cuomo says that the state government work force has lost more than 17,000 jobs since 1990, mostly through attrition. But there are still over 15,000 more state employees than there were when he took office in 1983. There is of course more for state employees to do in New York than in many other places. New York's state government spends 47 per cent more per capita than the national average. The state has one-tenth of the nation's welfare recipients and more than a sixth of the nation's Medicaid expenditures. New York's Medicaid program, more generous than other states', will pick up the bill for a vasectomy or a hair transplant; the state pays $5,600 per recipient, almost three times what California pays.

On tax policy, Cuomo can say, truthfully, that the top state-income-tax rate has dropped from 10 per cent to just under 7.9 per cent during his tenure. What he does not say is that each step was wrung out of him by the legislature; when he signed the last cut, in 1987, he remarked that "they would have gotten it anyway." Since 1990, he has postponed a scheduled cut that would have lowered the top rate still further, to 7 per cent. Cuomo also does not discuss the level at which the top rate kicks in—$26,000, as opposed to $150,000 in New Jersey. The budget he signed this spring had $253 million in miscellaneous tax cuts, but much of this was giving back with one hand what he had taken with the other, such as phasing out hotel and motor-oil taxes he had imposed in 1990. The budget also extended other taxes—a business tax surcharge, a hospital tax—which were due to expire.

Even so, Cuomo manages to make ends meet only because much of the state's fiscal activity occurs off budget. The state imposes programs on localities through unfunded mandates, which they pay for by sales or property taxes—with the result that New York's combined state and local tax burden is the highest in the nation. Cuomo has also resorted to financial gimmicks to balance the budget: raiding insurance and retirement funds; "selling" state properties to public authorities; converting short-term debt into long-term bonds.

These policies have hovered over the state's private sector like a Canadian low-pressure system. The refugees from New York's business climate have made the coast of Connecticut and the swamps of New Jersey bloom. The outflow would have been even worse if Cuomo's flanks had not been protected, for most of the Bush recession, by a pair of fellow tax kamikazes, New Jersey Governor Jim Florio and Connecticut Governor Lowell Weicker. But even this security is being torn from him.

The problem goes well beyond dollars and cents. Cuomo's impulse to shovel money at the state's problems has prevented him from thinking about them in any creative way. While other governors have experimented with education or welfare reforms, Cuomo has talked around the subjects and done nothing. His discussion of school choice in *The New York Idea*, a flat and feeble campaign book assembled for him by two state employees, is typical. "Are non-public schools prepared to accept all state regulations and court decisions?" he asks. Such a system would require "a new state-level bureaucracy . . . to oversee how local tax dollars are spent, to monitor accountability and performance." In other words, we can try something new, so long as it's exactly like what we already have. What New York already has in education is a per-pupil expenditure of $9,665, versus a national average of $6,932—along with a high-school graduation rate that is 45th in the nation.

The best defense of Cuomo's record, though he is unlikely to make it, is that his approach to government differs little from that of his predecessors or his peers. Cuomo did not invent the modern welfare state in New York. That was the creation of Nelson Rockefeller, who dug the foundations in 1958, before the New Frontier was thought of, and who was putting up additions until 1974, long after the Great Society had ended. Cuomo has not maintained it without help. On all but a few issues, he has proceeded with the cooperation of the permanent majorities in both houses of the state legislature—Democrats in the Assembly, Republicans in the Senate.

On occasion, the legislature has forced him to cut the income-tax rate. On many occasions, it has tried to force him to reinstitute capital punishment, without success: he has vetoed every death-penalty bill the legislature has passed. (When it is a question of executing murderers, the Catholic office-holder discovers a stubbornness he believes it is improper to show in defense of fetuses.) But in every other area of government, Cuomo and the lesser powers that be—legislators, constituency groups, pundits—uphold the consensus that has governed the Empire State for almost four decades. They hold each other up like drunks in the street. If Cuomo beats George Pataki, it will be because Pataki failed to make a convincing case that he was not cut from the same cloth. Since Pataki is a protégé of Senator D'Amato, this is a difficult case to make.

Our President-in-Waiting

IF CUOMO has been business as usual, why have New Yorkers thought of him as something more? This is the irony of his double-decker reputation. Even as New York gave him his platform as a national figure, his national reputation made him dazzling to New Yorkers. He was our poet, our President-in-waiting. Didn't the *McLaughlin Group* tell us so? Interestingly, Cuomo's in-state approval ratings, as measured by the Marist poll, began to slide at the moment he was no longer needed as a foil to Ronald Reagan. They peaked at 77 per cent in January 1988, on the eve of Bushism. By the time he decided not to file in New Hampshire four years later, they had sunk to 50 per cent. They hit 36 per cent in March of this year and have rebounded some, though they are still under 40 per cent.

Of course, he never would have left us. All the talk of the White House and the Supreme Court was self-infatuation—ours and his. For Cuomo nurses at his core a profound sense of self-doubt. It shows in the way he governs, trusting only a few old-shoe cronies and his son Andrew. It shows in the late-night and early-morning calls to critical journalists. It showed in a baseball scouting report when he was playing for a Pittsburgh Pirates farm club in 1951. "Sometimes," wrote the scout, "I think he has a slight inferiority complex and needs to be told frequently that he has the goods. Like all bright fellows, he is sometimes moody and different than the ordinary person."

Cuomo's inferiority complex seems to be connected with his ethnicity. Italian jokes of the most frivolous kind send him through the roof; in *The New York*

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Idea, he is still chewing over a slight to his mother from fifty years ago. When the Cuomos moved to Holliswood, a Queens neighborhood "then inhabited mostly by white Anglo-Saxon Protestants," three "distinguished-looking women" came to greet Mrs. Cuomo. "You must be the Italian woman," they said. "Well, we want you to know you are welcome here, but please keep the tops on your garbage pails." Solemnly, her son adds: "Unchecked, magnified, and sanctioned by the state," such behavior "is what eventually produced the malignancy of the Holocaust and the 'ethnic cleansing' we now see in the former Yugoslavia."

In *The Italians*, Luigi Barzini argued that the historical Italian antidote to feelings of depression and anxiety was the Baroque. That is certainly Mario Cuomo's antidote. But it is not only Italians who feel anxiety, or who resort to rhetoric as an anodyne. Unwilling to address our real problems, New Yorkers have resorted to Cuomo as a quack cure. We have slipped behind Texas to be the third largest state in the country, as Bill Murchison gleefully reminded us in these pages. We have a few huge lovely parks, a lot of dairy farms, a handful of decaying small cities like measle spots, and Gotham—the Omphalos, the Wen. It has been pleasant to think that the state that produced Alexander Hamilton and the Roosevelts could still produce a titan. Now that titanhood has finally passed Cuomo by, we may abandon him. It will be harder to abandon the bad habits that have led us to our shrunken state. □

The New Gold Standard

FED UP

The Fed has too much else on its mind to be bothered controlling inflation. But that can be changed.

LAWRENCE KUDLOW

'BRETTON WOODS is really a *metaphor* for gold and price stability," said Jack Kemp as he launched an Empower America conference commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the postwar global monetary pact. Indeed, John Maynard Keynes, one of the architects of the Bretton Woods agreement, told the House of Lords that it was "the exact opposite" of a return to the classical gold standard.

Kemp—the only prominent national politician who understands the complexities of monetary policy—stopped way short of calling for a full return to the Bretton Woods system, wherein the dollar was convertible to gold at $35 per ounce and all other currencies were pegged to the dollar.

Instead, Kemp, who is poised to announce a 1996 presidential bid immediately following this year's elections, is searching for a new approach that will promote economic growth by ensuring low inflation, and hence low interest rates, as far as the eye can reasonably see. Often accused of being a big-government conservative, Kemp knows full well that the power of government finance ministries and their central banks is dwarfed by the awesome power of global financial markets, driven by high-tech information processing, where daily dollar transaction flows total well over $1 trillion.

The subject of money is a timely one, as the U.S. economy again shows signs of rising inflation. The producer price index has increased at a 4.5 per cent annual rate over the past three months, after remaining flat for all of last year. The consumer price index rose at a 3.7 per cent annual rate for the three months ending in August, following a 2.7 per cent 1993 performance. Anticipating inflation, long-term Treasury-bond yields have moved up to 7.7 per cent, compared to 5.75 per cent nearly a year ago. The Eurodollar market expects short-term rates, which are now just under 5 per cent, to rise to 5.75 per cent in December and 6.5 per cent by next June. The overall stock-market averages have not advanced since early this year, and inside the market over 70 per cent of the S&P 500 listings have fallen at least 20 per cent from their highest level. Gold is again flirting with $400, and gold stocks are one of the hottest performing groups. Broad commodity indexes are very bearish on the inflation outlook: the *Journal of Commerce* index of raw materials has risen at a 25 per cent annual rate over the past six months, and the Dow–Jones spot index is up 24 per cent from a year ago.

Mr. Kudlow is NR*'s economics editor.*

A Wobbly Model

ONCE AGAIN a bout of inflation threatens to disrupt the economy. However, a return to the old Bretton Woods system is not the answer. Bretton Woods' creators, Keynes and Harry Dexter White, both believed strongly in the benign intervention of government and would not have understood any better than Bill Clinton and his wrecking crew that next-century economics will be driven by market action, not government action. (Not long after the Bretton Woods conference, White committed suicide rather than face charges that he was a Communist spy.)

At the Empower America conference, former Reagan Treasury economist Paul Craig Roberts presented a critique of Bretton Woods, reminding participants that it permitted many fluctuations and crises, especially from France and England. The signatories relied on exchange controls and tariffs to prevent sporadic outflows. Countries whose currencies had been weakened by anti-growth tax and regulatory policies were constantly borrowing to support their currencies, then would periodically throw in the towel and devalue anyway. In effect, any country could withdraw from the system at any time, without penalty or sanction.

Meanwhile, Bretton Woods' other offspring, the IMF and the World Bank, were ruining the economies of Africa and Latin America. The twin banks also—by expanding paper money through the creation of special draw-ing rights (SDRs) and by a flood

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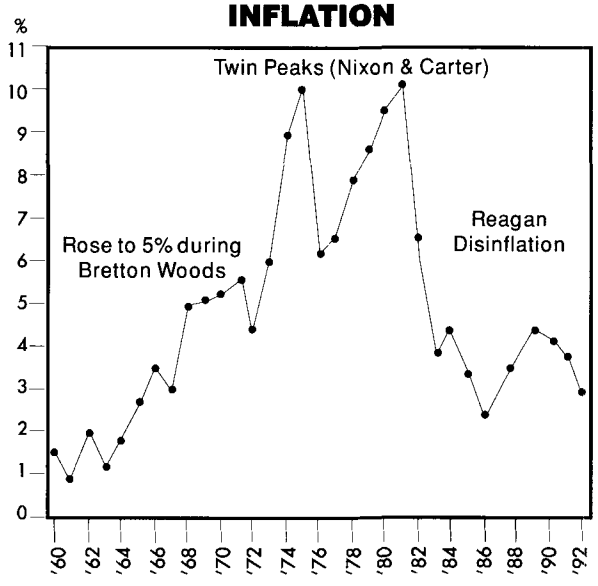
of new lending—helped to promote global inflation. What is more, the leading central banks, especially the U.S. Federal Reserve, never explicitly recognized the domestic-monetary-policy link to Bretton Woods, which was necessary to preserve the $35-per-ounce gold ratio or the foreign-currency peg to the dollar. Indeed, it was the U.S. that inflated its way off the system, ringing the death knell in 1971, when the gold window was formally closed.

In short, neither the U.S. Government nor any other was able to maintain the necessary discipline. Supporters of Bretton Woods ascribe the beginning of 1970s inflation to 1971, when President Nixon formally terminated the system. In reality, the beginning of the end came in the middle 1960s, when the Fed created new dollars at a very rapid rate. Federal Reserve credit (consisting mainly of the central bank's portfolio of U.S. Treasury securities and loans to member banks) which is the source of monetary-base dollar creation, increased at a 10.7 per cent yearly rate between 1963 and 1968, double the pace of the previous five years. In response to this inflationary money growth, gold that was trading freely in the London market moved up from $35 to $43 per ounce, a 23 per cent rise, which correctly heralded the coming inflation. So did long-term Treasury yields, which moved up from 4¼ per cent to 7½ per cent between 1965 and 1970. The U.S. inflation rate, which averaged 1.6 per cent a year for the five years up to 1964, promptly moved to a 5.4 per cent annualized pace for the four years to 1970. All this occurred *before* the Bretton Woods system expired in 1971.

Why? Mainstream Keynesian economists continue to blame the 1970s inflation on Lyndon Johnson's Great Society program of Vietnam guns and welfare-entitlement butter. As this story goes, the lack of *fiscal* discipline created huge deficits that subsequently drove up inflation. However, from 1965 to 1970 the budget deficit averaged a tiny $7 billion a year, or 1.1 per cent of gross domestic product. It was an excess of money, not deficits, that started the age of inflation. And this excess, corroborated by the rise in the private-market gold price, occurred *despite* the Bretton Woods system.

After 1971, as gold completely disappeared from the official monetary scene, inflation raged among all the industrial countries. (When gold was the reference point, from 1950 to 1971, real GDP expanded at a 3.8 per cent annual rate, and the consumer price index at 2.1 per cent. When gold was removed, economic performance from 1971 to 1993 slumped to 2.5 per cent growth with 6 per cent inflation.) This undermined growth, capital formation, entrepreneurship, employment, financial markets, free trade, consumers, elderly pensioners, farmers, and the poor. Orthodox economists blamed greedy businessmen for raising prices, or ungrateful workers for demanding higher wages, or Arab sheiks for increasing oil prices; even God was blamed for bad weather and poor harvests. But none of the orthodox attempts to curb inflation worked. Wage and price controls failed, higher taxes failed, monopolistic regulations failed, managed-exchange-rate schemes failed. They failed because the root cause of inflation was the printing of bad money. By government.

INFLATION



That's right, government. The Federal Reserve is an arm of the U.S. Government, just as central banks everywhere are. And governments are not to be trusted. In the United States, the Fed is to money as the Department of Health and Human Services is to social policy: it represents the narrow interest of elite Washington planners and their mistaken theories, not the grassroots interests of the population at large. The latter wants stable money in order to invest, save, borrow, lend, trade, take risks, and prosper. The former want Keynesian fine-tuning, demand management, and economic control.

There are of course some in the Fed who have their ear closer to the ground, but even these good people get caught up in the prevailing ethos of Washington's corridors of power, the infectious culture of big government. For all its alleged independence, the Fed is very much a part of this culture.

"Everything the government touches turns to c---. It's a reverse Midas touch," Craig Roberts told the somewhat startled conservatives at the Empower America conference. But why were these conservatives startled? And why is it so difficult to recognize that the Bretton Woods system, designed by Keynes, was the perfect vehicle for big-government planning and tinkering with money? Conservatives do not trust government to tax, or spend, or regulate. They abhor government interference with property rights, hiring policies, family values, or school curricula. Why should money be any different?

Good as Gold

TO RESTORE sound money and permanent price stability, a new system must be designed which places the private international gold market at the center. That gold is still the best inflation indicator, I have no doubt. If the Fed had heeded the message of the world gold market, then the U.S. and the rest of the world would not have been forced to suffer the consequences of repeated stop-and-go policies. The gold price signal worked in the Sixties and Seventies to warn of impending inflation, and it worked in the Eighties and Nineties to signal disinflation. It even picked up the mild reflation of the late Eighties, just as it is now signaling another reflation.

Private citizens today are permitted to own and contract for gold. Indeed, they are free to exchange dollars for gold, commodities, foreign currencies, and foreign financial instruments as they wish. In that important sense we are already on a new gold standard. And for those who remain uncomfortable with gold as the single instrument of policy, there is no reason why the

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Fed should not also monitor price movements in the international auction markets for bonds, commodities, and currencies. All send off early warning signals of inflation.

The trouble is, the Federal Reserve —and the Treasury—are not heeding the markets' message. The authorities are still focused on economic variables such as unemployment, capacity utilization, retail sales, and real GDP, as if too much employment, or production, or growth will create inflation. But prosperity does not cause inflation; bad money does. If money is sound, then people will hold it. If they hold it, then bond yields will fall, gold will be soft and commodities uneventful, and the dollar will rise. Call it the World Information Standard, or the New International Gold Standard, or the Bond Market Vigilantes. Whatever the label, *markets*, not government, should regulate the money supply.

What is to be done? We must take money out of the politicians' hands. To achieve this, I propose a series of new monetary reforms.

First, the Humphrey–Hawkins Act must be amended to eliminate the directive of low unemployment and to make price stability the Fed's sole objective. Printing more money will not reduce unemployment. Real purchasing power comes not from money creation but rather from profits, production, entrepreneurship, and risk taking. These are a function of low taxes, deregulation, free trade, and restrained federal spending, all of which permit proper incentives and returns for the private economy. The Fed's rule should be preservation of steady dollar purchasing power and stable prices. Government cannot and should not try to control the economy.

Second, price stability should be defined in terms of a specific inflation target; I propose a 0 to 3 per cent range for the rate of change of the CPI. Inflation targets have been successfully implemented in Britain, Canada, and New Zealand; Germany and France are on the verge of such targets. It is time for the Fed to surrender. A cost-of-living target is something the public understands.

Third, the Fed's chairman and vice chairman should be given two years to meet this target. If after 24 months there is deflation, or above 3 per cent inflation, then they must resign. No position, no office, no parking spot, no

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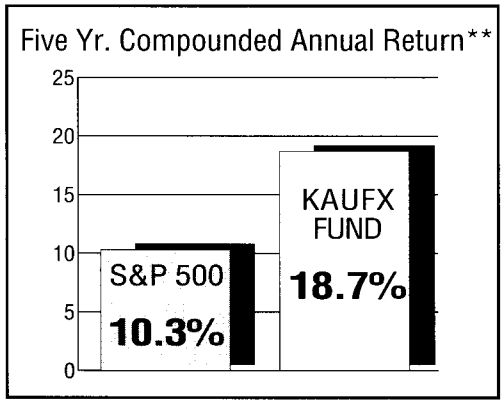

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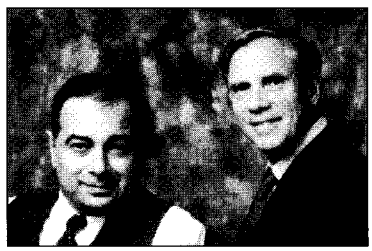

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tennis privileges. If the target is met, they may complete the remainder of their four-year terms.

Fourth, the Reserve Board must be subjected to strict term limits to avoid the Washingtonization trap. Right now board members are eligible to serve for 14 years. This is an outrage; no one should be permitted such power for so long. Terms should be limited to six years.

Fifth, all Federal Reserve operations to buy and sell—whether government securities, or foreign currencies, or gold, or desk chairs and computers—must be publicly announced in advance. The public has a right to know, and the Fed should not be in the business of favoring the New York financial community, as is now the case.

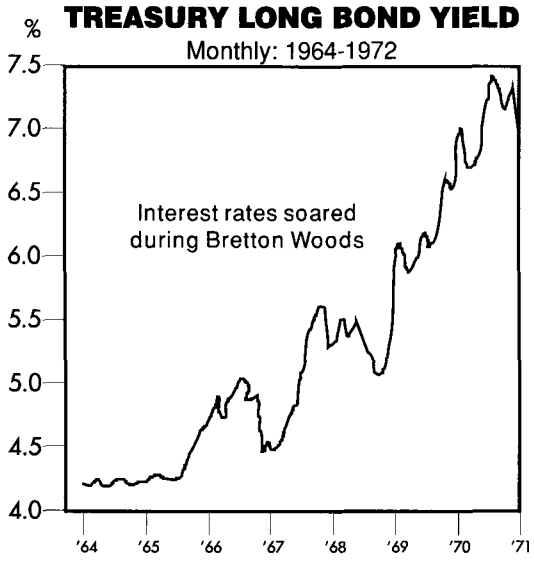
One additional point. Internally, the Fed should abandon control of the overnight federal-funds rate as a means of regulating Reserve Bank credit. Instead, the Fed should use global gold, commodity, financial, and currency market price signals. Let the overnight interest rate float according to market conditions. Right now, for example, the Fed fund rate is rising, but so are gold and commodity prices. This means policy is still too loose. Indeed, interest rates are rising because the Fed is inflating. Operationally, the Fed should be extinguishing dollars until the gold price falls back to around $325.

Sound as—a Dollar?

WHAT I have described here is a *domestic price rule*, subject to a clear target and to public accountability. The ultimate goal is a stable cost-of-living price index and steady domestic dollar purchasing power. The supply of dollars will be calibrated to dollar demand by price signals emanating from world gold and financial markets.

Way back in 1944, the economic journalist Henry Hazlitt wrote: "The first essential is a determination to make currencies sound within each country. . . . This can only be done by the maintenance of the value of the dollar in terms of gold, along with a sound national budget and other sound internal policies." He was right then, but ignored. He is still right today.

There is no reason to "fix" international currencies, for central banks merely waste taxpayer money in a futile effort to buck world markets. Nations that raise taxes and impose regulations, or engage in protectionist trade practices, will suffer a falling exchange rate. If the Clinton Administration has its way on raising taxes and nationalizing health care, then the dollar will decline, as it has already done this year. On the other hand, nations that strengthen their private sector through fiscal incentives will see their currency appreciate. But each nation has a right to do as it wishes. Supranational governmental agencies must not dictate.



In the event, if all nations set a domestic inflation target, and use the international gold and financial markets as a disciplinary guide to meet it, then currencies will take care of themselves. This twenty-first-century monetary plan will create stable money and stronger growth, with low interest rates. Undergirding the system will be the information-efficient private global-market trading system, a populist and democratic expression of the free will of billions of people who are searching for prosperity and social progress. It will replace the perverse and destabilizing structure of government control and intervention. I call it common cents. □

Dealing with Cuba and Haiti

ISLANDS OF TURMOIL

Conventional wisdom has it that Haiti would be much easier to set right than Cuba. Want to bet?

RADEK SIKORSKI

THE CRISES in Cuba and Haiti remind me of a story about Jimmy Carter and Mao Tse-tung. Responding to one of President Carter's determined questions about human rights in China, particularly the freedom to leave the country, Chairman Mao supposedly asked: "Do you really want all my dissidents to have the freedom to leave? How many do you want in the U.S.? Fifty million?"

Fidel Castro has called President Clinton's bluff in a similar way. Cuban exiles in Florida who believed that the flood of refugees would lead to the regime's collapse were sorely disappointed when Clinton ended the automatic asylum policy. It is as if, just as Erich Honecker opened the Berlin Wall in November 1989, the West Germans had closed it on their side. This was designed to help Clinton's electoral prospects in Florida but may well backfire. It may even strengthen Castro: regimes gain legitimacy when they can blame their problems on outsiders.

If Cuba is a tough case, it is usually thought that America can at least solve the Haitian problem. President Clinton has declared his intention to use "all means" to restore democracy in Haiti; this restored democracy in turn

Mr. Sikorski is NR*'s roving correspondent.*

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is supposed to stem the flow of refugees. Given enough American assistance, in other words, Haiti can be quickly reformed; the Cuban regime, on the other hand, is beyond the pale and should be starved into collapse.

The belief that authoritarian countries such as Haiti are easier to reform than Communist countries like Cuba is not a new one. This doctrine was originally formulated by Jeane Kirkpatrick, Ronald Reagan's forthright ambassador to the UN. She argued that authoritarian countries may be more brutal than Communist countries, because under Communism a thoroughgoing pacification of society has already occurred and little extra violence is needed to maintain fear. Yet, she continued, most dictators did not aspire to transform society and dominate every sphere of activity; instead, they were satisfied with controlling the army and security police, generally leaving churches, private property, and commerce alone.

In practice, the world has turned out to be more complicated than that. It is true that both Chile after Augusto Pinochet and Argentina after Leopoldo Galtieri seem to have much better chances of building prosperous economies and stable democratic institutions than, say, Russia or Rumania. Life in South Korea—until recently a dictatorship—is preferable to life in North Korea, still a totalitarian state. Post-Franco Spain is doing better than post-Gorbachev Ukraine.

On the other hand, China, which was almost the definition of a totalitarian society, is in some senses a success story. While Russia may be in chaos, other Central and Eastern European societies managed not only to rebel against their leaders but to reform themselves as well. The post-Communist Czech Republic is more stable than post-authoritarian Philippines, Estonia has better prospects than Malawi, and Hungary's democracy is firmer than Pakistan's. And how do you classify countries like Poland and Burma, in which Communist regimes metamorphosed into military rule?

And so, looking at Cuba and Haiti without the political scientist's prejudices, it is obvious that totalitarian Cuba will be much easier to sort out than authoritarian Haiti. Cuba may be poor and oppressed, but at least its people are relatively well educated, largely urban, and, if the success of the Cuban exile community is any evidence, vigorously entrepreneurial. Its once-confident middle class is not entirely suppressed and may well bounce back the moment socialism is lifted from its shoulders. With the capital and business skills of the Cuban exile community, the country could be improved relatively quickly. Within a few years of Castro's demise, his country could again be the most popular holiday resort in the region. With prosperity returning, a post-Castro Cuba could become stable and democratic.

Haiti, on the other hand, is like a patch of Rwanda deposited in the Caribbean. The only world records it holds are in wretchedness: one of the highest population densities, one of the highest illiteracy rates, one of the fastest rates of deforestation, and one of the lowest life expectancies. With an average per-capita income of $440, Haitians must see Cubans, whose

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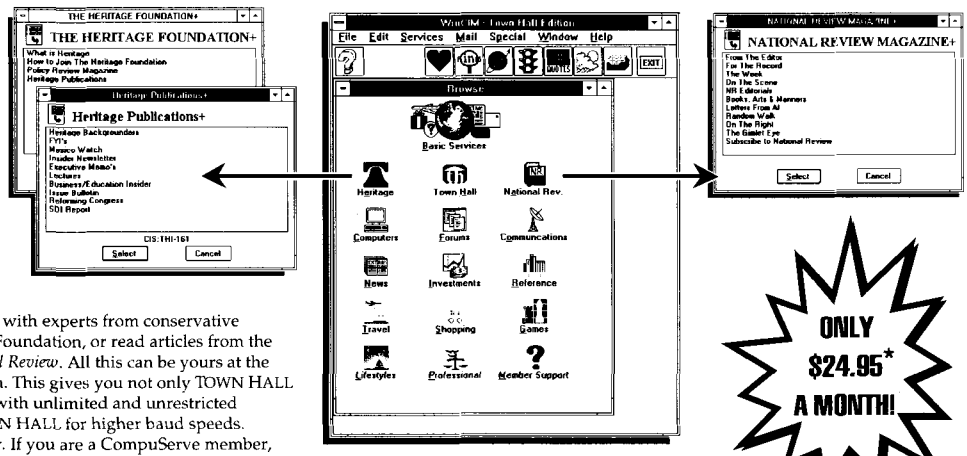

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average per-capita income hovers around $1,500, as positively prosperous. Many Haitians make good once they come over to the United States, but their largely rural brethren back home are still mired in ignorance and magic. In a country where voodoo remains a potent political force and spells are more feared than legal writs, any "return to democracy" is pure wishful thinking. The best that Haiti can hope for is that its dictators are benevolent, but by all accounts this is not a good bet with the unstable Father Aristide, the deposed president whom Clinton is in the process of restoring.

As the Heritage Foundation points out in its recent, characteristically hard-headed paper on Haiti, it is not as if the United States had not made such efforts before. "Democracy," wrote Woodrow Wilson in 1885, "is not created by aspirations or by new faith; it is built up by slow habit. . . . It comes, like manhood, as the fruit of youth: immature peoples cannot have it, and the maturity to which it is vouchsafed is the maturity of freedom and self-control, and no other." Unfortunately, Wilson did not listen to his own advice when thirty years later, as President, he sent the U.S. Marines to invade Haiti. He told a White House visitor that his purpose was "to teach the South American republics to elect good men," a rationale strikingly similar to President Clinton's official aim of "restoring democracy." Just as today, democratic Haiti was to be propped up with the help of American-trained policemen and sanitation officials. Bill Clinton should remember how that effort to help Haiti fared. The quagmire, which lasted twenty years, cost hundreds of American and thousands of Haitian lives. And when the U.S. troops left in 1934, the country remained as ungovernable as before.

Each a Special Case

NONE OF THIS is to say that Communism was benevolent, or even that it was a lesser evil. But it does show that in the end every country is a special case, with its own traditions, institutions, national ethos, ethnic composition, industrial base, and, most of all, history. Communism was often imposed upon sophisticated cultures and could not entirely wreck their potential. On the other hand, authoritarian regimes rule some of the most primitive countries in the world and tend to destroy the few civilized institutions they find. The classification of regimes as either totalitarian or authoritarian fails to predict their post-despotic development.

So if America should not have sent troops to Haiti, what should America have done? "If you don't know what to do," goes the Chinese saying, "do nothing." Bill Clinton could do worse than to follow this maxim. It would be cheaper to plug illegal immigration from Mexico—where the numbers are greater—than to try to stabilize Haiti. The expense and loss of face that America has been incurring in keeping the refugees out are minuscule by comparison with the cost and humiliation if the occupation of Haiti goes the way of the intervention in Somalia. Nor is there any immediate need to do battle with Castro. With the collapse of the Soviet bloc, he is no longer the nuisance he used to be. The U.S. can simply firm up the patrols on its coast and leave both countries to their own devices, waiting to see whether regimes emerge that Washington can do business with.

Heredity and Human Nature

A SUBSTANTIAL INHERITANCE

As a result of genetic research, human nature is making a comeback. Some liberals are feeling uneasy.

DANIEL SELIGMAN

HEREDITARIANISM is on the march. Nature is clobbering nurture. A steady drip, drip, drip of scientific studies is cumulatively telling us that more and more human traits are genetically influenced. Some of the findings are based on studies of twins and adoptions; others have been generated by research in molecular biology and related hard sciences. The media have shown a particular interest in recent data linking genes to sexual orientation, alcoholism, violent and criminal behavior, and obesity, not to mention cheating on wives. "Infidelity: It may be in our genes," proclaimed the August 15 *Time* cover. The cover story, by Robert Wright, was based on his new book, *The Moral Animal: Evolutionary Psychology and Everyday Life*, a work heavily influenced by the science of sociobiology—which has also generated a lot of data linking genes to human behavior.

Some of the nature–nurture news stories also touch on IQ, although you would have difficulty deducing from the coverage that in this area there has been no serious dispute for decades about a powerful genetic effect. The August 9 *Boston Globe*—which was bracing its readers for *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life*, by Richard J. Herrnstein and Charles Murray (to be published in October)—had a headline that could have appeared forty years ago: "IQ Fight Renewed; New Book Links Genes, Intelligence."

Curiously unnoticed by the reporters and anchorpersons of America is my own favorite finding of recent years: that *political beliefs* are strongly influenced by genes. The finding, exhaustively documented in the twin study program at the University of Minnesota, asks you to imagine a continuum of political attitudes. At one end are instinctive conservatives, here conceived as people who tend to respect traditional values and established authority; at the other end are rebellious

Mr. Seligman, a Fortune *columnist, is the author of* A Question of Intelligence: The IQ Debate in America *(Citadel).*

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types generally inclined to kick over the traces. One's place on this continuum is established by responses to a battery of questions gauging attitudes toward conservatism. It turns out that the test scores of identical twins (who are, of course, genetically indistinguishable) correlate far more closely than do the scores of fraternal twins (who have only about half their genes in common), even when the identical twins were reared apart and the fraternal twins were brought up together in the same household.

The media's rendering of the news about genes has been uneven, incomplete (especially in dealing with male–female differences), and maddeningly misleading in major respects. Still, there is no doubt that the literate public has been assimilating a few large truths: that genes play a greater role in human behavior than previously posited; that human beings are somewhat less malleable than had been assumed; that human nature is making something of a comeback.

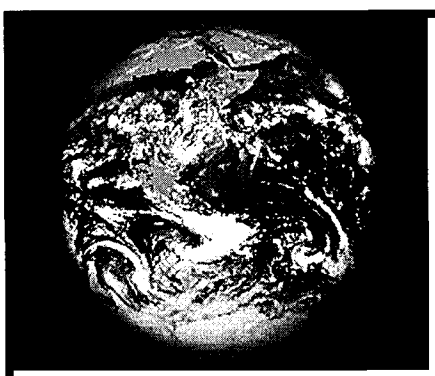
Onward to Utopia

THE centrality of human nature, a.k.a "instinct," was received wisdom in psychology and anthropology early in this century. It was very much onstage in the world's first serious psychology textbook, William James's *Principles of Psychology* (1890), a work that drew heavily on Darwinian parallels between human and animal behavior. The Darwinian paradigm remained dominant for many decades.

By mid century, however, this model was pretty much undone in the realm of ideas. It was fighting Marxism and Freudianism, whose alternative visions both featured human behavior shaped by the environment. In addition, the master-race version peddled by the Nazis had made hereditarianism much harder to defend. It was gradually supplanted by a commitment to one or another form of cultural determinism. *In Search of Human Nature*, by Carl N. Degler of Stanford, traces the rise of this new model to anthropologist Franz Boas, who had been assailing hereditarian ideas as early as 1910 and whose students and disciples increasingly nudged the thinking classes toward a model of human development in which "culture," rather than biology, was supreme. By the 1950s, anthropologist Ashley Montagu was proclaiming that man "has no instincts, because everything he is and has become he has learned, acquired, from his culture." In 1961 the president of the American Sociological Society hailed "the new optimism," identified as a conviction that "anybody can learn anything."

This expansive view of human malleability was exactly what numerous social engineers were eager to hear in the Sixties, and it still lingers in high-minded rhetoric about educational reform. In 1987, when he was the chief executive of Xerox, David Kearns made a speech calling for "a new national agenda" and proposing, incredibly, that "every student—without exception—should master a core curriculum equivalent to college entrance requirements." Possibly owing to his utopian credentials, Kearns later became deputy secretary of education in the Bush Administration.

Adapting to the era of limited malleability has not been easy for the media. First, there has been endless confusion about and misrepresentation of the data. One keeps reading that the evidence points to homosexuality being "immutable, not a personal choice" (*Los Angeles Times*), or that "sexual orientation is innate" (*New York Times*),



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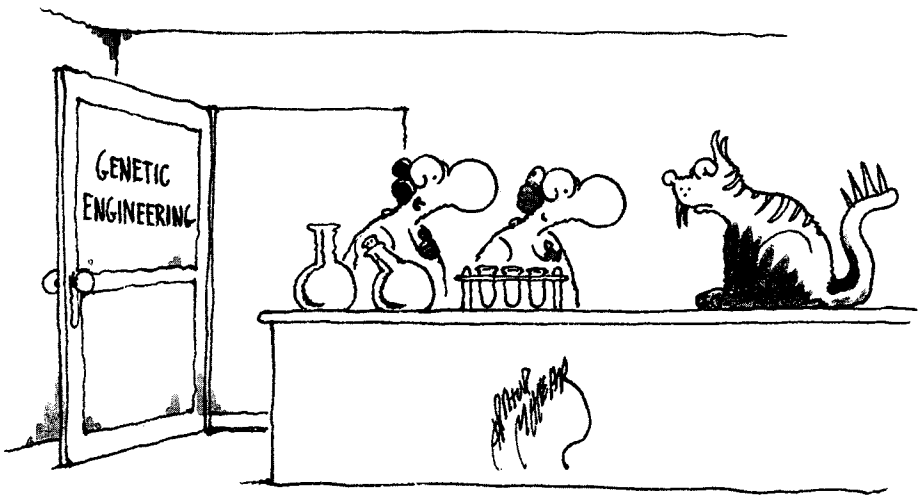
or that it is "biologically determined" (*Boston Globe*). Or, when the subject is data pointing to genetic and biochemical markers for violent behavior, that "biology is destiny" (*Time*). Or, in news stories about a hereditary basis for obesity, that a particular gene "is the cause of" compulsive eating (*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*).

The principal difficulty with all these formulations—in some cases, they are hedged or qualified elsewhere in the article I am quoting—is that *none* of the data now emerging postulates any such determined outcomes. The news is about probabilities, not about "destiny." In every case the data concern genetic effects that "predispose" one in this or that direction and thereby change the odds of particular outcomes. They represent new estimates of the "heritabilities" involved in the trait. The heritability of obesity, for example, is apparently somewhere around 0.40, meaning that 40 per cent of the population's variability in body weight is attributable to genes, leaving 60 per cent for environmental effects. (Obesity is generally defined as 20 per cent or more overweight in relation to height and body type.) For homosexuality the heritability may be as high as 0.50. Some scholars say it is in about the same zone for alcoholism. (Others are profoundly skeptical of any genetic influence at all in alcoholism.) For political attitudes it is about 0.60, a figure raising the question of whether ideological sperm banks are just over the horizon. For IQ the heritability is even higher, by some measures as high as 0.80.

A second, related problem with the press coverage is its insistent politicization of the data. Over and over again, one sees the media spin doctors gravitating to questions about the political implications of the news: whether it is good or bad for this or that politically correct cause, and, if bad, whether such research should be continued.

This was particularly the case with data suggesting a biological basis for violent crime. The existence of such data has been documented in many different ways. Studies have repeatedly shown identical twins to be more alike than fraternal twins in various measures of criminality. It is clear that several traits associated with violent criminals—muscular physique, low IQ, and impulsiveness—are strongly influenced by genes. Dr. Markku Linnoila of the National Institutes of Health has spent many years building a data base relating deficiencies in serotonin (a brain-based chemical that facilitates transmissions between neurons) to impulsive violent behavior, and almost nobody doubts he is on to something.



"We've done it! We've built a better mousetrap!"

The Nazi Tradition?

THE BIG issue about such studies nowadays is not so much their validity as the permissibility of pursuing them at all. The hangup here is racial: Justice Department data indicate that blacks, who represent about 12 per cent of the U.S. population, commit about half of all violent crimes (defined as murder, nonnegligent manslaughter, rape, aggravated assault, and robbery). Which raises the prospect that any research into the genetic and/or biological roots of violent crime would at some point be addressing differences in racial propensities. Numerous scholars are determined that no such research be done, and scholars wishing to do it are endlessly told that they are acting in the Nazi tradition.

Prominent among those making such points is Dr. Peter Breggin, founder of the Center for the Study of Psychiatry, who was recently quoted in the *Atlanta Journal and Constitution* as concerned that the research would turn into a witch hunt against inner-city black kids. He added: "For America to suggest that the problem lies in them is hypocritical and evil, and to think of doing genetic studies in our inner cities is very close to the Nazi philosophy of blaming and oppressing the victim." Two years ago, the NIH was supporting a conference, to be held at the University of Maryland, on genetic factors in crime. Breggin howled, as did the Congressional Black Caucus. NIH Director Bernadine Healy instantly caved, and the conference was never held.

Political correctness has also been onstage in coverage of the data on gays. In this instance, however, there have been no demands for suppression of the data, which the gay-rights movement generally finds congenial. The new findings here have mainly been identified with two researchers. One is neurobiologist Simon LeVay, who in 1991, when he was at the Salk Institute in La Jolla, reported that a particular cell cluster in the hypothalamus was smaller in gay men than in straight men. The other is Dean Hamer of the National Cancer Institute, who reported in *Science* last year that he had found differences in the DNA of gay and straight men. Both LeVay and Hamer have repeatedly stated that their research does not point to a "gay gene" and does not imply that homosexuality is determined before birth.

Why, then, would so many media accounts create the opposite impression? Doubtless a contributing factor is the difficulty so many newsrooms have in dealing with complex quantitative data. But I believe that the main reason is political: the concept of a predetermined sexual orientation offered irresistible polemical opportunities to PC editorialists. For openers, it gave them a chance to beat the "Radical Right" over the head. If evangelicals

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say that homosexuality is "immoral," that must mean they believe gays have a choice in their sexual orientation. So it would be nice to argue that no choice is involved—gayness, no less than straightness, is a God-given trait. As elaborated by a *Boston Globe* editorialist: "The arguments of homophobes usually imply that homosexuals are somehow making a perverted choice. But the findings of Hamer's team . . . would tend to show that homosexuality . . . is biologically determined. . . . It could ease the struggle to secure equal protection for all Americans, regardless of sexual orientation."

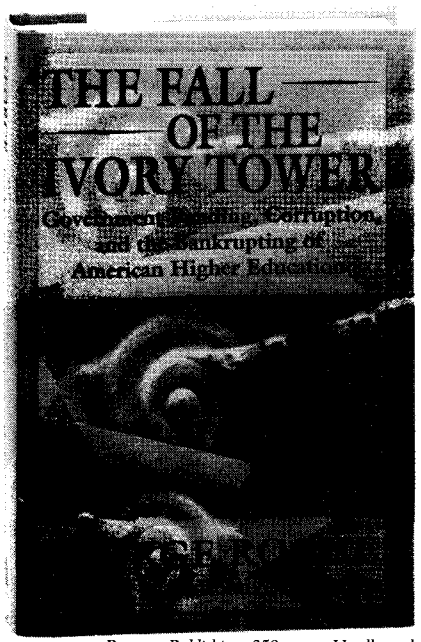
The notion of a biologically determined sexual orientation had another attractive implication for progressive journalists. It meant that parents could no longer rationally defend their objections to gay influences in their children's lives. As *Time* argued in an article a year ago (July 26, 1993): "Parents might be more relaxed about allowing children to have gay teachers, Boy Scout leaders, and other role models, on the assumption that the child's future is written in his or her genetic makeup." Note, however, that this case crumbles fast as we move from biologically determined outcomes to mere tendencies. If a boy had any predisposition to gayness, his parents would possibly be *more* concerned about gay Scoutmasters than if they had never heard of the new research.

An amusing footnote to these arguments emerged from some comments made by Dean Hamer at last winter's San Francisco meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. At a news conference, Hamer expressed concern about one possible application of his research. He raised the possibility that the findings would lead eventually to prenatal tests for the predisposition to homosexuality, worried that some parents might elect to abort any fetuses at risk of being gay, and said he hoped to patent the gene in question and prevent homophobic parents from misusing his research. His position was widely reported, and applauded, and my search in Nexis turned up a non-amazing non-event. There were no editorials saying Hamer's plan was in conflict with a woman's right to abort unwanted pregnancies.

'Anything You Can Do . . .'

POLITICAL agendas are also discernible in the media treatment of data on male–female differences. The press has done fairly well at rendering the work of Harvard psychologist Carol Gilligan—Nexis was recently offering 547 articles that mention her—and especially the core concepts of her book *In a Different Voice*, which portrays women as far more empathetic and "caring" than men. This thought, which had arguably occurred to your grandmother long before Professor Gilligan got around to it, has now been assimilated by most feminist thinkers. But the media and modern feminism are still rigidly rejecting the avalanche of data depicting basic differences in male and female intellectual skills.

A striking instance of the rejection was the colossally uninformed coverage of the lawsuit last winter in which the American Civil Liberties Union



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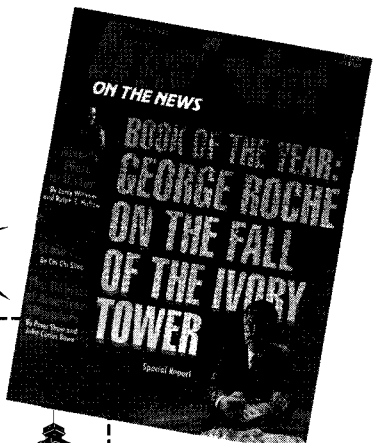

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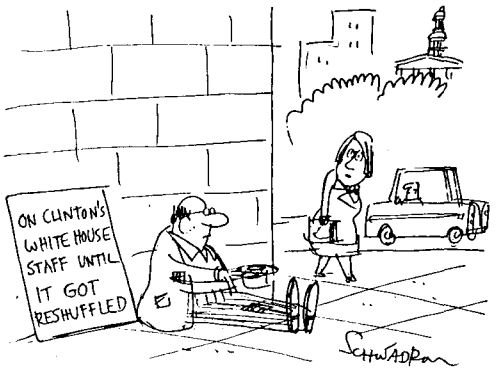
and the National Center for Fair & Open Testing called upon the U.S. Department of Education to declare the Scholastic Aptitude Test in violation of Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which bars sex discrimination in federally funded education. The suit's basic proposition: that the SAT (the name has been changed, so that the "A" now stands for Assessment) obviously discriminates against young women. Principal evidence: that women represent 55 per cent of the high-school juniors taking the preliminary SAT but only 40 per cent of those whose test scores qualify them for National Merit Scholarships. To qualify, you have to be above the 98th percentile of the testees.

A thought that was almost impossible to find in media coverage of this event was that this is precisely what serious students of male–female differences would have expected. There is broad (not quite total) agreement that men and women are on average equal in mental ability: they have different strengths and weaknesses, with a huge advantage for men in spatial abilities, which are deeply implicated in mathematical talent, and an offsetting verbal advantage for women. Camilla Benbow of Iowa State University is among the numerous scholars who believe these differences have a biological basis.

If the sexes are on average equal in ability, why would men be dominant among the National Merit Scholarship winners? Because in virtually all mental domains, males are more variable than females, i.e., the distribution of their scores is less bunched around the mean. David Lubinski of Iowa State and Professor Benbow, two prominent researchers who have studied the variability issue, have analyzed the test scores of several hundred thousand high-school students and concluded that even in domains where females have a higher average, males will be more variable. Obvious implication: in any sizable group of gifted (or retarded) students, you would expect males to be overrepresented.

I said above that it was "almost impossible" to find this thought in the media. In fact, I stumbled upon it in only one place: in a public-television discussion program called *To the Contrary*. The program has only female discussants, and on the day I tuned in one of them was Linda Chavez, who said that the National Merit Scholarship results were not surprising, since the greater male variability was well established. To be sure, Miss Chavez is



a conservative and an occasional NATIONAL REVIEW contributor.

Taking everything together, the emerging limits-to-malleability perspective looks like better news to conservatives than to liberals. Down through the years, conservatives have almost always been less attracted to political initiatives—public housing, penal rehabilitation, the Job Corps, Head Start, international Communism—that were in some measure advertised as creating new and better kinds of human beings. Conservatives tend to be far gloomier than leftists and liberals in judging the possibilities of changing mankind. In *A Conflict of Visions*, published in 1987, Thomas Sowell argued persuasively that their different perspectives on human nature were fundamental to their disagreements on a wide range of public-policy questions. Contrasting the utopianism of the Left with the "constrained vision" of the Right, Sowell wrote: "What fundamentally distinguishes the two visions is their respective perceptions of human potential."

In the IQ debate, or at least that portion of it centering on the nature–nurture issue, conservatives have generally seemed quite comfortable with data running up the score for nature, possibly because the evidence confirms their intuitive doubts about so many ameliorative social programs. By the same token, strenuous resistance to the data tends to come from scholars on the Left. Typically they have been Marxists, Stephen Jay Gould of Harvard and Leon Kamin of Northeastern being among the more prominent. The single most hard-line statement against a genetic basis for IQ is still *Not in Our Genes*, a 1984 work by R. C. Lewontin, Steven Rose, and Leon Kamin, who posit that IQ studies are a weapon employed by the ruling class to hold down the poor and minorities, and who seem unable to discuss the human condition without dragging in Marx, Engels, Feuerbach, and "revolutionary philosophers and practitioners like Mao Tse-tung." Kamin was one of the scholars turned to by the *Boston Globe* for its recent report on the Herrnstein–Murray book. He was quoted as stating that the book was "politics masquerading as science."

Guaranteed: no shortage of politics as the gene data unfold. □

A Foreign Way of Death

GOING DUTCH?

Is America heading down the euthanasia path blazed by Holland? Watch the results on Oregon's Measure 16.

WESLEY J. SMITH

"A BREAKTHROUGH in Oregon will start a domino effect of law reform on assisted dying throughout America," writes Derek Humphry, co-founder of the Hemlock Society, in a fund-raising letter on behalf of the Oregon initiative known as Measure 16. If Oregon voters pass the initiative, it will mean that doctors, for the first time in American history, will

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be allowed to knowingly prescribe fatal overdoses of drugs.

Measure 16 is a case study in cynicism and subterfuge. The backers of the initiative assumed that Oregonians would reject any measure that appeared to be an outright legalization of euthanasia. So they wrote the proposal in minimalist terms, hoping to fool voters into believing that the measure would "only" permit physician-assisted suicide. But as Humphry's letter makes clear, the authors of the initiative intend it to be the rock that starts the avalanche down euthanasia's slippery slope, an avalanche designed to obliterate 2,500 years of public policy prohibiting doctor-induced death.

This is not an irrational approach for euthanasia advocates. Legalization proposals have been put forth before and repeatedly rejected by state legislatures and voters. This year in Michigan, Jack Kevorkian's supporters were unable to gather enough signatures to qualify a euthanasia initiative for the ballot, despite a well-publicized petition drive. Indeed, experience has shown that opposition to legalizing euthanasia grows the more people learn about the topic.

And that is precisely the problem for opponents of the Oregon initiative. Coverage of the O. J. Simpson murder trial will be at its height in October, when most voters would normally begin to focus on the campaign. That may make it difficult for the truth about euthanasia to get through. So now may be the best time to analyze what passage of Measure 16 would mean, not only for Oregon but for the rest of us "dominoes."

Slide into Euthanasia

THE SOCIAL and moral consequences of legalizing doctor-induced death are already apparent in Holland, a nation touted by euthanasia advocates as leading the world to its bio-ethical future. Holland's slide into euthanasia can be traced back to 1973, when a Dutch judge refused to punish a doctor who had been convicted of killing her ailing mother by lethal injection. The judge ruled that the defendant physician had stayed within certain informal policy

Mr. Smith, an attorney and consumer advocate, is the author of The Doctor Book *and* The Senior Citizens' Handbook.

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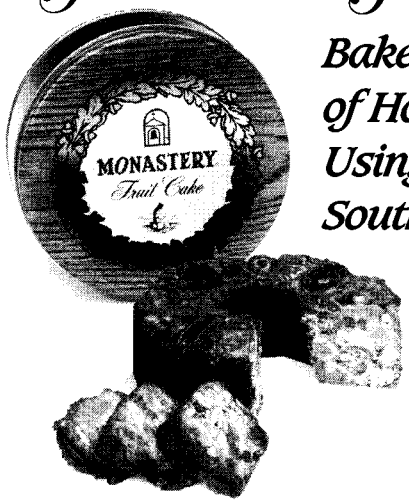

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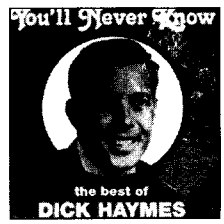

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"barriers" against patient abuse, and so no legal sanction (aside from one week of probation) should apply.

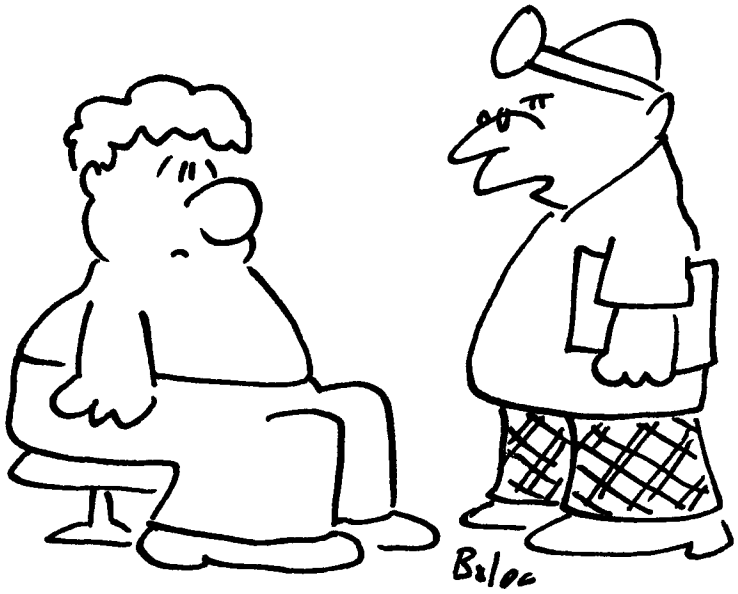
That case and others like it led to the current state of Dutch law, which technically prohibits doctor-induced death but permits it to go unpunished if physicians stay within legislative guidelines. Under these guidelines, only patients who are experiencing unbearable pain and who repeatedly and voluntarily request death are supposed to be killed. In practice, Dutch physicians routinely ignore the rules. Here is just a sample of what is happening in the Netherlands, a mere 21 years after euthanasia made its first legal breakthrough:

—According to the Remmelink Report, an official Dutch government survey of euthanasia practices, more than one thousand patients are *involuntarily* euthanized each year. In other words, doctors kill an average of three patients a day without permission of the patients or their families.

—Some patients who are not terminally ill are euthanized. Indeed, they do not have to be physically ill to receive "deliverance," the favorite euphemism among euthanasia advocates. The Dutch Supreme Court recently ruled that a psychiatrist acted properly when he "assisted" a physically healthy but depressed patient to die. (The woman's two children had died and her marriage had dissolved.)

—Babies born mentally retarded or with birth defects are being killed in their cribs by pediatricians. So common is this infant euthanasia that the Dutch Pediatric Association is drawing up guidelines for its practice.

—The Dutch Patients' Association, a disability-rights group, has found it necessary to distribute a wallet card to members instructing doctors that "no treatment be administered with the intention to terminate life."



"You have an extremely rare, hard-to-detect disease—are you trying to make me look bad?"

It is tempting to dismiss these problems as foreign to the U.S. experience. But a quiet revolution in ethics is being led by this nation's medical establishment, pushing us step by step along the path blazed by Holland. A May 26, 1994, editorial in the prestigious *New England Journal of Medicine* opined that the time has come to restrict the right of profoundly disabled people to receive life-sustaining medical treatment. According to the editorial, restrictions could come in three forms: expanding the legal definition of death to include permanent unconsciousness; legally limiting the health care a severely brain-damaged person would be entitled to receive; or creating a legal presumption that those with severe disabilities would rather die than live (reversing the current presumption in favor of life).

No matter how restricted these new guidelines were, you can bet they would soon be extended. In fact, conscious brain-damaged people are already being hustled into the grave. In 1993, for example, a Vermont court approved the withholding of food and fluids from a brain-damaged man named Ronald Comeau because of "quality of life" considerations. (See "The Right to Die, the Power to Kill," *NR*, April 4, 1994.) Mr. Comeau's case had a happy ending. But Michael Martin, another brain-damaged man, may not be as fortunate. (See "Better Dead than Fed?" *NR*, June 27, 1994.) Mr. Martin is slated to die by dehydration and starvation with the approval of a Michigan probate court despite strong evidence that he has communicated a desire to live. The court ruled he isn't competent to choose life over death, so a pre-injury statement to his wife that he would not want to live in a dependent condition allows the state to approve his killing. (A request for a hearing is currently pending before the Michigan Supreme Court.)

Eroding Guidelines

THE decisions to starve Ronald Comeau and Michael Martin were unethical under guidelines created by the AMA Council on Ethics and the Law in 1986 and reiterated in 1992. The guidelines said it was ethical to withhold food and fluids only from patients who were "terminally ill" or "beyond doubt" permanently unconscious. Mr. Martin and Mr. Comeau are neither, proving that the protective limitations established by the AMA can be ignored, just as the euthanasia guidelines in Holland are. Moreover, in response to such cases, the AMA has loosened the guidelines. A recently published opinion by the Council on Ethics and the Law deems it ethical to withhold food and fluids from conscious brain-damaged patients like Mr. Martin and Mr. Comeau.

Despite the ostensible concern for the welfare of patients, legalizing assisted suicide and euthanasia would be likely to increase the misery and suffering of the very people that doctor-induced death is supposed to help. This is the conclusion reached by the 25-member New York State Task Force on Life and the Law, a permanent commission created by Governor Mario Coumo in 1985. In 1994, after an intensive and lengthy investigation, the task force published a report entitled, "When Death Is Sought: Assisted

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Suicide and Euthanasia in the Medical Context."

The task force found that the medical community is not doing a very good job of caring for severely ill and chronically suffering people. The task force reported, for example, that up to 60 per cent of cancer patients do not receive adequate medication for pain. Moreover, terminally ill patients who become clinically depressed and suicidal often do not receive adequate mental-health intervention or anti-depressants. If doctors do such a poor job of relieving pain and depression now, when doctor-induced death is illegal, what kind of job will they do should killing a patient be considered just another "treatment option"?

The task force also found that worries about a slippery slope are justified. It concluded that "clinical safeguards would not be realized" and that euthanasia policies that "hinge on notions of pain and suffering" would be "uncontainable." The task force's conclusions were unequivocal and unanimous: The dangers of legalizing assisted suicide and euthanasia "would far outweigh any possible benefits." Furthermore, "the risks would be most severe for those who are elderly, poor, socially disadvantaged, or without good access to good medical care."

As the task force and others who have studied the issue have concluded, there is little to gain by legalizing doctor-induced death and much to lose. Now it's up to Oregon voters to stop the avalanche, by voting no on Measure 16. To do otherwise will unleash forces that will bring about devastating consequences not only in this country but eventually throughout the world. After all, if we can export rock 'n' roll, we can export Dr. Kevorkian. □

Buying Off North Korea

PLEASE ACTION

In responding to North Korea's nuclear program, the U.S. has several options—none of them appealing.

ELIOT COHEN

THE Korean problem poses more than one difficulty of foreign-policy analysis. Aside from the central question of what to do about the unsettling possibility of a nuclear-armed rogue regime, one has to ask questions about one's own government. Hypothetical solutions serve little purpose if they cannot be executed. In this case, a policy of confrontation, which might ultimately lead to war on the Korean peninsula, would have to be executed by an Administration that has been hesitant and often inept in its handling of the American military. It is, moreover, an Administration that has (in its own mind, at any rate) divided its relations with Asian countries into compartments. The Clinton Administration appears to believe that confrontations with Japan over trade or China over human rights will have no effect on the willingness of those countries to cooperate with the U.S. on security matters. It is a curious, and probably unfounded, assumption.

Furthermore, our Korean policy does not start with a blank slate. For several years now the United States has been unable to manage the problem of North Korean nuclear ambitions. Several Administrations have been tempted to withdraw forces from the peninsula, and it was George Bush, not Bill Clinton, who began pulling nuclear weapons out of South Korea. Thus, although the Clinton Administration may have handled Korea badly, it is not clear that its predecessor handled it much better. Nor is it clear that there are any good options on the Korean peninsula. Broadly speaking, there are four possible policies: a preemptive attack; a hard squeeze, including a willingness to risk war; isolation and containment, accompanied by an effort to minimize the chances of active fighting; and a drive for a settlement with the North Koreans.

The first policy may be dismissed out of hand. Not only would this Administration simply refuse to do it, but also the dangers of radioactive contamination and the regional diplomatic repercussions would be unacceptable. It is conceivable that the South Koreans would violently oppose such action and virtually certain that the Japanese and Chinese would. Nor can we assume that our knowledge is adequate to allow us to conduct such operations with the precision and completeness required. In the Persian Gulf, American war planners entered the conflict with a list of two certain and one possible nuclear targets; by the time the UN inspectors had done their work after the war, they had a list of two dozen major facilities.

The second policy, the hard squeeze, would lead the United States to deliver an ultimatum to the North Koreans: give up your nuclear weapons, or face unremitting American pressure on Japan and China to sever economic ties. The squeeze would be accompanied by reinforcement of American troops on the Korean peninsula, and it would mean subordinating other foreign-policy objectives (human rights in China, removal of trade barriers in Japan) to our policy in Korea. It would require an immediate foreign-policy offensive to gain the necessary support. It would run the risk of provoking a war that would probably devastate Seoul and that might leave America's local allies embittered at paying the price for American antipathy to nuclear proliferation.

The third option is a variant of the second: squeeze the hermit kingdom by quietly working on the Japanese and Chinese to curtail trade, but without publicly speaking of a crisis. Make it clear that the nuclear program must be curtailed on American terms, although in return North Korea might get some relief from its diplomatic isolation, perhaps even American recognition.

The fourth option is simply one of bribery. Offer the North Koreans whatever it takes in order to get them to scale back or stop their nuclear pro-

Mr. Cohen, an NR *contributing editor, is a professor of strategic studies at the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies.*

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gram. If that includes large-scale financial aid or even the building of a new nuclear-power reactor or two for them (a proposal currently favored by the Clinton Administration), so be it.

Poor Menu

UNFORTUNATELY, the options are almost equally unappetizing. The risks of war are clear; the risks of the two more peaceful options, less so. One way to think about the situation is to consider what would happen if the North Korean nuclear program is not quickly stopped in its tracks. The North Koreans may now have one or more nuclear weapons, with the potential for half a dozen more if they begin reprocessing the fuel rods currently sitting in cooling tanks. The North Koreans have been steadily, and with moderate success, developing missiles with which to deliver nuclear weapons. What might happen next?

Start with the best possible outcome, which is that the North Koreans fall in line with American policy. Even if successful, the Clinton Administration's current approach sets an appalling precedent: violate the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, and the United States will oblige by pleading with its allies to buy you nuclear reactors. Moreover, although these nuclear reactors produce less weapon-grade material than ones designed for that purpose, they none-theless produce some. And given the longstanding North Korean practice of evasion, deception, and stonewalling, the proposition that this solution would mean the end of Korea's nuclear ambitions should strain our credulity.

The North Korean regime has a long and consistent history of prevarication and an ideological commitment to self-sufficiency. A nuclear-weapons program does a lot for North Korea's leaders. Without nuclear weapons, the country is merely an Asian Rumania before the fall; with nuclear weapons, it has half a dozen wealthy countries courting it, dangling large sums of money. It also has the psychological payoff that comes from confronting the United States and appearing to win, or at least not lose too badly—a phenomenon that helps account for the decades-long pleasure taken by Fidel Castro in tweaking Uncle Sam's nose.

Nor is it plausible to expect a South African outcome, the dismantling of nuclear weapons by a reformist regime. South Africa's nuclear program never offered any real strategic benefit to that country. The threat to South Africa's security came from insurrection, not invasion; none of its neighbors—not even Angola while the Cuban troops were there—posed anything like a serious conventional threat to its existence. Not so for North Korea, which must look at its array of potential opponents and realize that their wealth and the march of military technology will ineluctably weaken its conventional position over time.

In the best situation, a North Korea that continues its nuclear program (modified or slowed down in order to continue cashing in on Western recognition and/or foreign aid) still collapses and unifies with the South during the next few years. This assumes that the North Korean domestic situation is as parlous as the few visitors and diplomats who have gone to Pyongyang report. The nuclear program's legacy, including a few bombs, falls into the hands of the South Koreans, who not so long ago had their own very active nuclear program. Would the South Koreans, now inheriting a unified country, with all the financial and social burdens that would entail, discard the nuclear weapons they inherited? Perhaps—in return for, let us say, vast amounts of financial aid from Japan and the United States. But perhaps not. The psychological consequences of the unification of a long-divided country are a difficult matter to predict, and it is at least as likely that such unification would lead to assertive nationalism and a prickly unwillingness to forgo instruments of military power that are claimed by at least one very large neighbor.

In a much milder way German unification seemed to breed a slightly more assertive foreign policy (in, for example, Yugoslavia and vis-à-vis Eastern Europe as a whole). A better analogy might be the consequences of German, Italian, and American unification in the mid nineteenth century, all of which bred various forms of national assertiveness that bear remembering. And a unified Korea might plausibly think that nuclear weapons would serve it well as a means of counterbalancing pressure from China, which might look askance at the emergence of a united and economically vigorous Korea on its borders.

Spreading Re-armament

WHAT difference would a unified Korea, armed with a handful of nuclear weapons but ruled pretty much as the South is today, make for the rest of the region? Probably the reaction in Japan would be pressure, at the very least, for an active nuclear-weapons program of its own. This pressure would result partly from cultural rejection of the idea of a Korea militarily superior to Japan but also from strategic calculations. South Korea has already begun spending increasing sums of money on naval forces, a matter of some long-term concern to Japan. A Korea embroiled in unification might not be the most comfortable of neighbors, and the entire process might look like evidence of American ineptitude in handling the security of Northeast Asia.

It is now known that in the late 1960s, when the treaty to control nuclear proliferation was being drafted, Japanese diplomats thought it important for their country to reserve the right to acquire nuclear weapons. With its large civilian nuclear program and its technological sophistication, Japan could easily acquire a nuclear arsenal of several hundred warheads in short order. The nuclearization of Japan, in turn, could have profound consequences. It would greatly increase the anxiety already felt by other Asian countries, who have long feared Japan, and it would decrease their already shaky faith in America's ability to manage Asian security. From there the consequences become unpredictable, particularly if Japan no longer believes that it must rely on the United States to guarantee its security.

This is the best that can happen. What are some of the less happy outcomes? One might simply be war. Assume that North Korea has a modest stock of nuclear weapons but that it is indeed in a state of terminal economic decline, both relatively and absolutely. In such circumstances one can imagine the North launching a war, not so much with a view to reuniting the Korean peninsula (although such mad overconfidence cannot be ruled out), but for more limited purposes. North Korea might wish to set the South back and secure long-term gains (rec-

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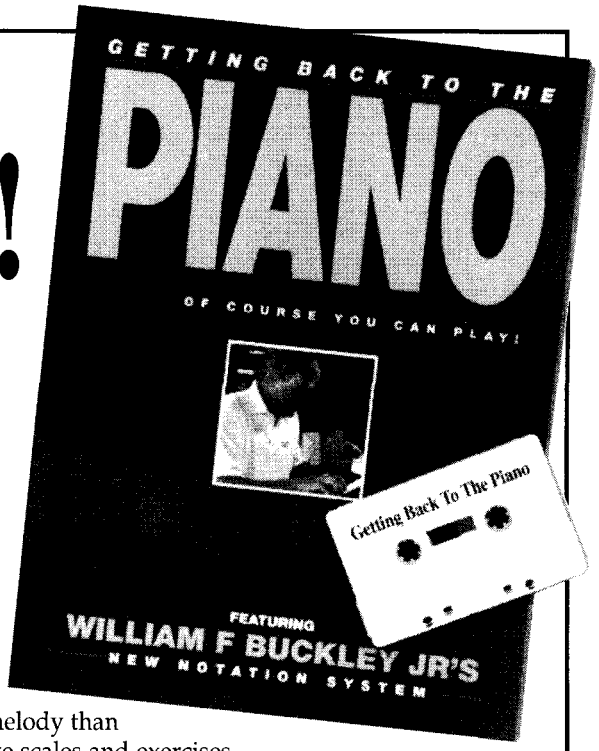

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ognition, foreign aid) in return for withdrawing from, say, the Seoul area. Nuclear weapons on intermediate-range missiles would serve neither to deter the United States nor to attack South Korea, but they would certainly be useful in deterring Japan from allowing American forces to use bases on the Japanese home islands or on Okinawa. This could put a considerable crimp in American logistics and air power.

Here again, the long-term consequences bear reflection. The successful use of nuclear weapons to hamper or perhaps even cripple an American conventional response to a local war would have disastrous consequences for nuclear proliferation in general. Again, after such an experience one would expect the Japanese to wish to pursue a more self-reliant defense policy, including large-scale ballistic-missile defenses and, quite likely, nuclearization. And having seen for themselves the utility of nuclear weapons in conflict, the North Koreans are unlikely to turn around and give them up.

Blackmail, or Sale?

SUPPOSE, however, that the North Koreans do not use their nuclear weapons in a war, but rather keep them as a means of ensuring modest financial support from their neighbors. A different kind of danger will come from the temptation they will surely feel to sell the weapons. There have been half a dozen recent episodes of Russian plutonium coming up for sale in Germany. For a number of countries—Iraq, Iran, Libya, and perhaps Saudi Arabia or an Algeria that has fallen to fundamentalist rule—the purchase of nuclear weapons may look like a good alternative to construction of them. Several of those countries could and undoubtedly would pay large sums of money for such weapons. The North Koreans might refrain from selling weapons on prudential grounds, but surely not out of a concern for the susceptibilities of the international community. The likelihood of such sales hinges, therefore, on the ability of the United States to detect them.

Nuclear weapons can be extremely difficult to detect by remote observation if reasonable, and not terribly expensive, precautions (shielding and the like) are taken to prevent discovery. Detecting the weapons would be hopeless if the Chinese were willing to allow transportation through their territory—a highly unlikely route but one that is conceivable, given Chinese antipathy to American counter-proliferation policies and given the corruption rampant in Chinese government circles. If such shipments went by water, the United States would have to be willing to intercept North Korean or other ships on the high seas and accept the probability that nine times out of ten such interceptions would yield nothing but embarrassment. And even so, a couple of nuclear weapons might find their way to an Iraqi or an Iranian arsenal, with grave implications for Middle Eastern politics.

There is, of course, the possibility that the North Korean regime will neither collapse, nor use its nuclear arsenal in a war, nor sell part of it off, but merely use its weapons to help ward off its own demise. In this, the most benign of the adverse outcomes one can reasonably expect, the consequences are still worrying. The possibility of Japanese re-armament, though much reduced, remains. Beyond this, one must consider the long-term consequences of the U.S. failure to achieve a major foreign-policy objective and the clear demonstration that a signatory to the non proliferation treaty can acquire nuclear weapons and brandish them without suffering consequences. Already, many states have concluded that the way to stymie American hegemony is not by acquiring conventional military hardware—an area in which they cannot compete—but by building up arsenals of unconventional weapons. Nuclear proliferation would thus have received a substantial boost, and American credibility another blow.

What, then, is to be done? The first responsibility of statesmen is not to deceive themselves (and if possible, not to deceive their citizens) about the policy conundrums they face. In this case, it means acknowledging the possibility that there is not likely to be a good outcome in Korea. The wisest course will probably be the third choice, the quiet squeeze, which neither bribes the North Koreans nor menaces them with an immediate war; the most likely course is the fourth, an attempt to pay Pyongyang off.

Gulf War Euphoria

THE Gulf War went so amazingly well that most Americans—particularly those who do not have close relatives serving in the Second Infantry Division—are more willing to contemplate the use of force than ever before. It is conceivable that a second Korean War would be as much of a walkover as the Gulf War was, but highly unlikely. A victory over North Korea that left Seoul devastated (and it would be hard to avoid this), South Koreans furious, the Japanese dismayed, China mortally suspicious, and several thousand Americans killed or wounded would not be worth a great deal—particularly if, as is entirely possible, the South Koreans claim North Korea's nuclear program as one of the spoils of war.

The objective of American foreign policy should be to make sure that North Korea gets no benefit—financial, diplomatic, or psychological—from its nuclear program and that whatever weapons it acquires remain on the Korean peninsula. The United States should make it clear that nuclear blackmail will gain North Korea nothing. That means, inter alia, a reaffirmation of our own willingness to use nuclear weapons and to continue their testing and development—a matter on which the Clinton Administration has been deeply divided, with the nuclear doves winning most of the internal arguments. It means quietly doing those things which can hasten the eventual fall of the regime, including maintaining its economic isolation and undermining it with propaganda. But even such a prudent course will require a steady hand, a tolerance of risk, and, what is rarest of all, a willingness to face the unpalatable fact that there are few good outcomes to look for. □

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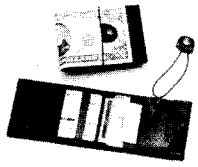
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THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON

September 15, 1994

Dear Rusty,

Forgive the haste. I'm trying like crazy to type softly on my new ThinkPad (you'd love it! A Brx-230-34c Processor with 150 MB RAM and 23.89 Dig Co-Pros, Xnt-78 Port, expandable for Frpt!) because I'm in the White House Situation Room, waiting for the invasion of Haiti to begin on CNN.

I'm going to fax this letter over the secure satellite link as soon as I finish it, so you'll probably get it in a few hours. If you do, PLEASE don't tell anyone who looks Haitian that we're planning to invade, okay? We're counting on surprise.

Actually, OPERATION RESTORE DEMOCRATS—sorry, make that OPERATION RESTORE DEMOCRACY—has been in the planning stages for months and months. At first, it was called OPERATION SHUT UP, then it was called OPERATION PRETTY PLEASE, and for a brief few weeks in early summer, we called it OPERATION WHAT DO YOU WANT FROM US, ANYWAY? But since we've definitely decided probably to potentially invade, well, we needed a name with a hook.

To be totally honest with you, Rusty, I'm a little uneasy about the whole thing. I'm not quite sure it's been planned and thought out in the detailed way that, say, our program to re-invent government has been. And that, if you'll recall, has been a total 100% success. By this time in 1995, the government will be completely re-invented.

But OPERATION ANY DAY NOW is a different story. From the very first, HRC and Ira Magaziner insisted on planning the whole thing by themselves, complete with amphibious landing sites (to be determined by a consortium of Organization of American States economists, grassroots citizens of Port-au-Prince, and attorneys representing the United States Marine Corps) and a provisional constitution modeled after Sweden's. But in a very tense National Security Council, their plan was shot down. It was a packed room including some influential members of Congress.

Since most of the country is against OPERATION STEP IN IT, we decided it would be a good idea to get everyone on board for the invasion early. Who needs Kweisi Mfume and Pat Schroeder taking potshots at you from the sidelines?

After Ira and HRC presented the plan, the room was silent. Then Strobe Talbott piped up.

"Actually," he said, "that plan is very much like one I came up with in my spare time, when not playing squash or thinking about Yale."

Bill nodded in silent agreement.

"Let's do it," he said.

"Excellent idea," Strobe Talbott exclaimed, giving Bill and HRC the thumbs up. "This is what I've been saying all along."

Congresswoman Pat Schroeder looked up from her clipboard. "Will women be involved? It's vital that women do most of the amphibious landing."

"Women will be an integral part of all of the operations, Congresswoman," Magaziner answered.

Pat Schroeder smiled happily. "Then what are we waiting for?" she said.

"I've always thought that women-in-combat was a terrific idea," Talbott whispered to Schroeder. "Quote me on that. Please," he said to Bob Woodward, who was in the corner taking notes for his next book.

"Are we sure this is the right thing to do?" I asked. "I mean, do we really have any vital national interests at stake? Is democracy and stability in Haiti—something that has eluded us for over 75 years—really worth sending young men and women to die for?"

"I don't get your point, Al," HRC asked coolly.

"Yeah, Al, what's your point? Care to share with us, oh great one?" Talbott asked.

"Well . . ." I began, looking around the room for support. My eyes locked with JCS Chairman Shalikashvili, and he gave me the pretend-I'm-not-here look I used to get from Mack McLarty.

"Wait a sec, Al," Bill interjected gently. "What do you mean by vital national interests?"

"Yeah, what do you mean, Al?" Talbott was getting on my nerves.

"You don't think national health care is in the national interest? We won't get diddly at 35% in the polls," HRC said.

Bill nodded sadly.

In the end, we decided that the HRC/Magaziner plan would be implemented over time—say, five years—but that in the short term, a more conventional invasion planned by the military would be executed.

"My position exactly," Strobe Talbott said.

I'm still not convinced, Rusty. I think OPERATION DEEP VOODOO may turn out to be more than we bargained for. On the other hand, a military invasion planned and approved by Pat Schroeder and Kweisi Mfume can't be all bad. Can it?

Keep your fingers crossed, Rusty.

Your pal, Al

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Science and Its Enemies

STANLEY ROTHMAN

THIS IS an important and angry book. It is important because the authors document a trend, especially in the academy, toward the denigration of science—a trend with which many scientists are unfamiliar, and one that few really understand. It is angry because the authors, both scientists, are impatient with the illiteracy of many of the attacks on science. If their anger sometimes detracts from their analysis, it is nevertheless understandable.

Paul R. Gross and Norman Levitt examine a variety of critiques of science including those of "post-modernists," feminists, Afrocentrists, radical environmentalists, and AIDS activists. In all cases they find the same pattern of illiteracy accompanied by arrogance. Many of the critics they discuss argue that science is entirely (or almost entirely) the social or linguistic creation of dominant groups (usually, white heterosexual males) and does not correspond to "objective" truth.

Higher Superstition: The Academic Left and Its Quarrels with Science, by Paul R. Gross and Norman Levitt (Johns Hopkins, 314 pp., $25.95)

Indeed such critics claim that there is no objective scientific truth.

The authors are aware of the social bases of scientific achievement. They would agree that, in some disciplines and on the margins of others, social factors have played an important role in the acceptance or rejection of scientific discoveries or in their making. But they argue that these factors do not affect the truth of scientific propositions, and that at least in the modern world scientific progress has been driven largely by the inner logic of scientific theory, as well as by technological advances.

Feminist critics share with post-modernists and other contemporary radical commentators the view that "white, European patriarchal" science is socially constructed on the basis of a metaphor of raping nature and is designed to keep women and people of color in their place. The argument is nonsense on the face of it. Asians and Africans successfully use the tools of Western science in their societies. And since most large-scale societies of the past were more patriarchal than the West and did not develop modern science, patriarchy cannot be the source of science.

Stephen Moros

When radical feminists deal with concrete issues they tend to analyze the softer disciplines—sociology, psychology, and to a limited extent biology. Their interpretations are often questionable, but I think they have made some contributions in these areas. On the other hand, as this book shows, when feminists deal with physics, chemistry, or mathematics they have literally nothing of importance to say. They do not even attempt to demonstrate that a single scientific work—from Boyle's Law to Einstein's General Theory of Relativity—is wrong because it represents a white, patriarchal perspective. Nor do they attempt to demonstrate that women could design better airplanes on the basis of a "feminist" technology.

Attempts that are made to demonstrate the masculine, sexist character of mathematics are often treated with more respect than they deserve by mathematicians who are anxious to please. In their essay "Toward a Feminist Algebra," Mary Anne Campbell and Randall K. Campbell-Wright argue that modern higher mathematics is saturated with sexist ideology. Thus, they argue, "Mathematics is portrayed as a woman whose nature desires to be the conquered Other." They also argue that the language of mathematics is full of such violent masculine phrases as "If you torture the data it will confess." In the end, however, they offer no substitute for "masculine" mathematics, except for asserting that there may be a superior feminist mathematics.

Sandra Harding has established herself as a major figure in the feminist critique of science. In *The Science Question in Feminism*, she attacks physicists for assuming that everything in the world potentially has a causal explanation on the model of physics, and for refusing to study the history of physics. While her charge has some merit, it is largely wrong. First, whether or not the history of physics is taught to physicists is irrelevant to the truth of their theories. Second while some physicists know little about the history of science, many know a great deal. Sandra Harding's real gripe is that physicists do not study the history of science in the manner in which she wishes to have it studied. Further, as Gross and Levitt point out, she offers no alternatives, despite her explicit statement that "feminism will not succeed in 'proving' that science is as gendered as any other activity unless it can show that the specific problematics, concepts, theories . . . and methods of modern physics are gender-laden." We are still waiting for such "proof."

Post-modernist and related approaches—such as "cultural or social constructivism," out of which post-modernist theory partly springs—are essentially cut from the same cloth as

Mr. Rothman is Mary Huggins Gamble Professor of Government Emeritus at Smith College and Director of the Center for the Study of Social and Political Change.

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feminism. For somewhat different reasons, adherents of these views see the scientific paradigm as merely the superstructure created by the white European heterosexual patriarchy. Thus it lacks validity.

Many deconstructionists are even worse, and the authors quote some of them directly. The following is from Tim Dean, a Derrida epigone:

> The discourses of philosophy, linguistics, and sociology must be supplemented in a truly psychoanalytic account of AIDS by concepts drawn from the discourse of mathematics, principally post-Euclidian geometry which provides for topographical mappings based on a non-Euclidian concept of space.

Messrs. Gross and Levitt characterize such arguments as a species of con game. That misses the point. Tim Dean and others are persuaded by what they are saying, and some of the more perceptive of them, if one digs through the jargon, may have some ideas of merit. In any event, we dismiss them out of hand at our peril.

The authors also examine the work of Afrocentrists, radical environmentalists (including Jeremy Rifkin), and AIDS activists such as Larry Kramer. These people are having an important impact in key areas and are actively spreading junk science, or junk substitutes for science and social science.

Mr. Rifkin and others like him have, as the authors point out, helped to create an exaggerated sense of crisis about acid rain, pesticides, and the Greenhouse Effect that has led to the expenditure of billions of dollars on futile activities, including moving people from their homes and removing products from markets. They have also, in some cases, placed roadblocks in the path of useful and non-dangerous experiments in genetic engineering.

Afrocentrists are successfully encouraging the teaching of doctrines about black America, Egypt, and Greece for which there is little or no evidence. For example, contrary to what is now taught in many schools, the Greeks did not get geometry from the Egyptians. The latter did develop a good mensural geometry. It took the Greeks, however, to develop a systematic discipline.

Mr. Kramer and some of his co-activists have attacked the scientific community as fraudulent and positively homophobic because it has not come up with a cure for AIDS or a vaccine to prevent it. In the course of their attacks they have actually inhibited scientific study by blocking controlled experiments.

Most important, perhaps, all these groups and individuals have promoted misunderstandings of science in the wider society and a corresponding loss of faith in the method of science. This can only injure us in the future.

The devil is in the details. My brief summary cannot really do justice to this book, nor does it adequately convey the extent to which the views the authors critique have become common in academia and elsewhere.

Messrs. Gross and Levitt believe that the current stance of segments of the Left stems partly from Western disenchantment with the fruits of science. Western science has, after all, created powerful weapons of mass destruction, and one can argue that it has contributed in some degree to current environmental problems as well as to the loss of community. The authors also explain the anti-science mentality of the current Left (they refer to it as the "New Left" and I will adopt their terminology) as the triumph of a "totalizing ideology" that emerged in the 1960s. I agree with them in part, though I believe the 1960s merely carried forward trends that had developed earlier.

It is clear that for some on the Left post-modernism has become a substitute for a rapidly decaying Marxism. Many former Marxists have become multiculturalists, as contradictory as that may seem. Stanley Aronowitz and Jeremy Rifkin, one suspects, are simply very hostile to American society and will at any given time scratch at whatever myriad scab they can find. They switch ideologies as the need arises. The host of problems faced by America and the world today require that we constantly rethink what we are doing in key areas. Mr. Aronowitz and others have simply radicalized beyond all measure genuine and important concerns—for reasons having more to do with their personal needs than with reality.

Some radical feminists, Hispanics, and blacks probably have a different agenda from the New Left one. Women, blacks, and Hispanics—unlike most (not all) Asian immigrants—do less well than white males in math-

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ematics and the physical sciences. So if you cannot get ahead in the system on your own merits, you devalue it. That's an old, if unconscious, ploy immortalized in Aesop's fables. Of course, while arguing that science is a social construct, some militant blacks and radical feminists assert angrily that the contributions of Africans or women to science have been ignored or stolen.

The growth of irrationality in the academy, as marginal as it still is to practical science, is really mind-boggling. Just how serious are these trends for the future? After all, there are countervailing forces. Susan Faludi is countered by Christina Sommers. The National Resources Defense Council is countered by the American Council on Science and Health. Still, Gross and Levitt are legitimately concerned. The Left increasingly has the ear of the mainstream media and the

Who's Afraid of Science? And Why?

ACCORDING to professors at the best universities, science is a network of myths fabricated by a white male ruling class bent on keeping minorities subjugated. Now, any oppressed minority has a right to be heard, but the fact that a group has been oppressed does not guarantee it is right. That is made clear enough by Paul Gross and Norman Levitt.

The same applies to women. Is the science we know a "male" discipline, as feminist critics contend? My experience suggests not. I had the happy privilege of working closely with two of the greatest American women scientists. One was Maria Goeppert Mayer. Even as a student, she was among the best in the best period of German science. I got to know her when she returned to working in physics in Baltimore after her children started school. I take great pride in the fact that I helped Maria, after a most eventful decade in the development of physics (the years around 1930), to get back into the full swing of science. During the war years, she and her students helped to develop some of the theories that were eventually used in building the hydrogen bomb. Later, in Chicago, we worked together on the origin of the elements. In the midst of that work, she came up with the absurd idea of opposing Bohr's model of the atomic nucleus. I quite roundly criticized her. But Maria turned out to be right, and, deservedly, she received the Nobel Prize. She is not a feminist, but a scientist.

Another woman scientist, who died earlier this year, was better known to the general public: Dixy Lee Ray. She was an outstanding marine biologist, a remarkable administrator as head of the Atomic Energy Commission, a successful politician as governor of Washington State, and author of the important books *Trashing the Planet* and *Environmental Overkill*. While heading the AEC, she insisted on being called "chair*man*," preferring the traditional designation to any neologism. As an author, she was one of our most outspoken and convincing critics of the greenhouse and ozone-hole scares.

Of my many students, one who received a well-earned Nobel Prize was Chinese, Chen Ning Yang. With his discovery that the world is different from the mirror image of the world, he refuted a further falsehood: that science is peculiarly Western.

At the same time, anti-science sentiment persists. Americans used to approve of anything that was new, especially if it had the blessing of science. But no longer. I see two important reasons.

With the collapse of socialism and the success of America in so many ways, the reform-hungry Left lacks an object for its reformist passions. Its new slogan is: "Let's reform science!" Given the current general ignorance about science, the New Left can argue persuasively for its view of science as the keystone of a corrupt establishment.

The second reason for the change in attitude is deeper and more important. Modern science has produced some of the most difficult and most beautiful ideas ever fashioned by man. Even the least difficult of these—Einstein's relativity theory—seems completely beyond the man in the street, and beyond most intellectuals as well. The fact that these difficult ideas have provoked disagreement among our greatest thinkers makes them all the more important. Such controversy has resulted in deep insights.

I believe that the present widespread hostility toward science will not abate except through greater understanding of the intellectual value of these ideas. But even this is only a part of the answer to the question of what is to be done. We must also consider the employment of science in solving practical problems. Since the Second World War, money has been poured into science, with results that approached flood level. The fear of those results, and of science, grew at an even faster rate. We are frightened of carbon dioxide and freon and their effect on climate and ozone. Such fears may or may not be justified, though there can be no doubt that the return of an Ice Age is a concrete possibility. What most people don't know is that, thanks to science, we now have the instruments, and we almost have the understanding, by which such a development could be stopped. A system of near-Earth, highly instrumented satellites could gather enough information to turn meteorology from an art into a real science with important practical applications.

Today most people, and particularly the academic Left, are afraid of such a development because they suspect the new knowledge could be misused. I, for my part, believe human history has demonstrated that the positive uses of new knowledge outweigh the dangerous uses to an ever increasing extent. This view of science needs to be disseminated, and that is what Paul Gross and Norman Levitt have set out to do.

They are good scientists who emphasize the constructive use of science. Theirs is the proper answer to the anti-scientific propaganda of the academic Left. —EDWARD TELLER

Mr. Teller, developer of the hydrogen bomb, is a Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution and Director Emeritus of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in Livermore, California.

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mainstream foundations. Science does require a supportive social and political order. It can be inhibited or crushed by those in power, if they are sufficiently ideological and ruthless. Witness, for example, the destruction of genetics in the Soviet Union under Lysenkoism, as well as the longtime refusal of the Soviets to accept linear programming or even relativity theory.

Clearly, powerful forces are at work here, and their impact will be hard to reverse. Literature and the social sciences have already been seriously damaged. The worst forms of Afrocentrism are spreading, and the feminist movement has spawned a "social science" that interprets all differences between males and females as a function of white male oppression. Nor are there many in the academy willing to attack feminist theories in areas where it is important to do so, e.g., personnel decisions and the creation of new programs. Good work has been done in women's studies, some of which has contributed to a salutary shift in attitudes. But that does not vitiate my point.

On other fronts, attempts to study IQ or the relationship between genetics and crime are often censored, without arousing serious protest. The work that I have completed with several colleagues demonstrates that it is extremely difficult to raise funds from mainstream foundations for studies and conferences on these subjects—even from putatively conservative mainstream foundations.

There is something more, however. Modern science in the West was built on a culture emphasizing individualism within a framework of conscience, self-discipline, and rationality. The attack on science is part of a more general attack on the themes that undergird American society. Whatever the exact nature of the rhetoric, it is clear that many so-called deep ecologists and feminists wish to replace contemporary society with something else. Their rhetoric calls for a social order that is free of restraint and, impossibly, one that at the same time substitutes for individualism a rather primitive notion of group-bonding with nature. The ideology of those who desire this change resembles, in some ways, the Romantic movement's attack on bourgeois rationality in the nineteenth century—a stream that fed into German National Socialism.

Rationality and self-restraint have historically been quite fragile, and, with the encouragement of the New Left, both are eroding at high speed. Of course, the anger of those who wish to destroy traditional culture grows with each of their victories. The society that acquiesces in its own destruction seems ever more contemptible. Besides, despite their victories, Nirvana always escapes them. It can only be achieved, they are persuaded, by a complete vanquishing of "repressive white patriarchal bourgeois sensibility." Of course, history teaches us that if such people ever achieve power they will exercise far more repressive control than did the old regime.

Liberals, moderates, and conservatives see the situation rather differently. They worry about both the decline in civility and the increase in violence. They believe, however, that reality will eventually re-assert itself. It may be, as Freud argued, that the ego speaks softly but, in the long run, powerfully. Surely books such as *Higher Superstition* will have an impact. Surely people will see that East Asia's advantage over us lies in self-discipline and restraint. Surely people will not forever accept the decay of order and civility.

Perhaps. I am no longer sure. □

Lernering the Lessons of Judaism

BARRY FREUNDEL

WERE IT not for two serendipitous events, Michael Lerner might well have spent his career in obscurity. Even most Jews would not know of him, or at least would not see his work as significant to their lives.

Enter the media. Needing a spokesman with Jewish credentials willing to voice a liberal critique of Israeli poli-

Barry Freundel is rabbi of the Georgetown Synagogue in Washington, D.C., and an adjunct professor at Georgetown Law School.

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—Alan Clark on political conduct

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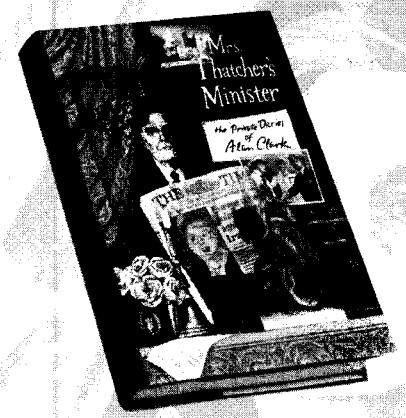

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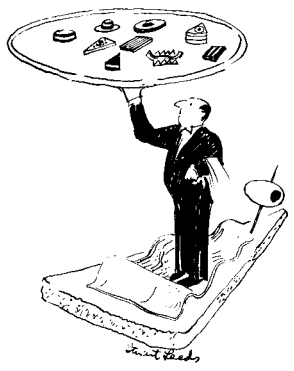
cies, and finding a fairly articulate spokesman in Mr. Lerner, many television programs of the political-analysis variety offered him a platform.

This, too, would have had a limited impact were it not for the election of Bill Clinton and the role his wife plays in the present Administration. Both the President and the First Lady have expressed appreciation for Mr. Lerner's political views, and Mrs. Clinton has publicly quoted his writings. In this way, Michael Lerner has achieved national prominence. For that reason, he should be read by anyone wishing to understand an important influence on the Clintons and their personal philosophy, with all that entails for potential policy directions.

Jewish Renewal: A Path to Healing and Transformation, by Michael Lerner (Putnam, 480 pp., $25.95)



Jewish Renewal: A Path to Healing and Transformation is Mr. Lerner's latest book. Never one to limit his scope, he presents his insights into the Bible, the Talmud, rabbinic Judaism, Jewish theology, God, Jewish mysticism, Jewish ritual, modernity, the Holocaust, Zionism, modern Israel, Jews in politics, Christianity, Jewish identity, Jewish survival, conversion, etc.—all in 444 pages. Despite its broad scope the book is both ponderous and repetitious, with almost all its discussions leading back to the same themes: first, we need compassion and joy, not pain and cruelty; second, the politically liberal understanding of Judaism is *the* way to achieve this goal.

The book's redundancy is not limited to its reiteration of these two ideas. With numbing effect, the reader encounters the same words and phrases over and over and over again. This is particularly disconcerting to eye and ear given Mr. Lerner's fondness for trendy or clichéd terms. There is, for example, no energy shortage in this book. "God energy," "renewal energy," "transformation energy," "feminist energy" appear so often that one begins to wonder when the pink bunny of the battery commercials will make an appearance. So too, the expressions "got it" and "getting it"—as in "at some point in our history as a people we 'got it'" (referring to the Jewish people's receiving the Bible and understanding its revolutionary message)—are so prevalent that one has the feeling the subject is not politics and theology but an extremely contagious disease.

Putting aside stylistic considerations, let us consider the substance of this work.

Michael Lerner as Bible Scholar: According to Mr. Lerner, Abraham, the patriarch and founder of Judaism, suffered until nearly the end of his life from something called "Repetition Compulsion." Rabbinic Midrash (hermeneutic teaching, which includes textual analysis, oral history, and moral training) tells how Abraham's father was alarmed at his young son's rebellious theology: the boy insisted that there was only one God. And so the father took him to the local Mesopotamian pagan king. The king, confronted by Abraham's persistence in his radical beliefs, cast him into a furnace, from which he was miraculously saved by God.

At this point Mr. Lerner steps in to say that Abraham was a victim and survivor of "parental abuse." That's why he could not bond appropriately with his wife. He twice, on visiting the lands of the Philistines and the Egyptians, presented her as his sister rather than as his wife—which Mr. Lerner views as a great sin. In both cases, Abraham then abandoned his wife to the king of the country, and she was saved only through God's intervention. Abraham, in short, was "compelled" to "repeat" his sins.

His "compulsion," resulting from child abuse, led Abraham almost to the point of sacrificing his own son on Mount Moriah. Marvelously, though, this inherited cruelty was shattered once and for all when Abraham looked into his son's eyes and stayed his hand.

I suspect that most serious students of the Bible will find little in this reading to recommend it. Focusing only on Mr. Lerner's conclusion, we can limit our criticism to one salient point. If Abraham's achievement was to shatter the "legacy of cruelty" and allow compassion to reign in its place, why did Isaac, Abraham's son, likewise commit what Mr. Lerner claims is Abraham's greatest sin? Even casual readers of the Bible know that Isaac repeated Abraham's attempt to present his wife as his sister, again in the land of the Philistines. In fact, almost all Isaac's activities described in the Bible are replications of Abraham's actions. Where, then, is Mr. Lerner's shattering of the "Repetition Compulsion"?

Michael Lerner as Philosopher and Theologian: In the chapter entitled "Something Happened," Mr. Lerner makes as impassioned an argument for the Divine origin of the Torah and its obligatory nature as I have seen in a long time. Although the argument—that millions of people claim that their ancestors were eyewitnesses to the events of Sinai, with no record of ancestral denial—is familiar, Mr. Lerner presents it in a powerful and engaging way. Unfortunately, its force is muted considerably in his very next chapter, in which he presents his Documentary Hypothesis of Biblical Affect (my designation). The original Documentary Hypothesis, based primarily on textual and historical considerations, divided the Bible into sections that were said to derive from at least four different sources. While there are many flaws in the original Documentary Hypothesis, it at least attempted a veneer of scientific objectivity. As he goes about slicing and dicing the Biblical text, Mr. Lerner makes no such attempt.

For Mr. Lerner there are two voices in the Bible: the voice of God (or compassion) and the voice of cruelty. Into the latter category goes anything that strikes the author as racist, patriarchal, sexist, or homophobic. Such material is present in the Bible only because the book has, accidentally, incorporated the "legacy of cruelty." It is thus our obligation, argues Mr. Lerner, to emulate Abraham and end such cruelty. However, no criterion other than the political is presented for determining which voice is which, thus leaving Mr. Lerner and others of a similar political persuasion as the best authorities on which sections of the Bible are authentic and which not. The main advantage of this is to give Mr. Lerner more or less free rein to mold Judaism, the Bible, and indeed the world in his own image.

Michael Lerner as Academic Scholar: Particularly troubling is Mr. Lerner's almost complete abstention from footnotes and endnotes. His excuse—that such notes are cumbersome—is hard to

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defend. Providing documentation at the end of a volume like this would aid those who are interested in pursuing sources while not burdening the more casual reader. Use of notes marks a work as having met at least one formal criterion of serious scholarship. It also provides some protection for the misquoted.

Michael Lerner as Psychoanalyst: Someone who can offer a psychoanalytic reading of Noah's flood as "God becoming frustrated" will not find very much that he cannot explain in psychological terms. (Mr. Lerner has a PhD in psychology.) His voice of compassion offers understanding and forgiveness to almost everyone. Even the Nazis "can be understood as the products of a long history of distorted choices." One need also understand, according to Mr. Lerner, that "the coming of capitalism and modernity undermined traditional communities and their abilities to more effectively deal with people's needs." Because these changes accompanied the fall of the ghetto walls and the at least partial integration of Jews into Western society, Jews applauded them. So Jews have been—inappropriately to be sure—blamed for the negative effects that followed their liberation. It is important to remember, however, that "many of those attracted to fascist movements have legitimate complaints about the society in which they live and the way that it frustrates their fundamental human needs."

Beyond the incompleteness and weakness of Mr. Lerner's analysis, it is remarkable to compare this treatment of Nazis and fascists with his comments about conservatives in general and Jewish "neo-cons" specifically. Mr. Lerner finds it easier to sympathize with the "human needs" of Nazis than with those of conservatives. "The ontologization of evil reached its most vulgar expression in *The New Republic* and *Commentary* magazines." "Yet for many Jews born after the Holocaust the Jewish world began to feel so conservative and spiritually dead." "By embracing conservative values they were actually embracing the legacy of Hellenism." This last is part of Mr. Lerner's equation of conservatism with paganism. Though he never says so explicitly, his descriptions of these two "wrongheaded" philosophies are essentially identical. Further, since God's Biblical revelation was designed to combat paganism, the contemporary parallel is inescapable.

Most extraordinary is his criticism that "[the neoconservative] philosophy stemmed from a fundamental distrust of non-Jews, a sense that they would always turn against us." This—coming at the end of a book that claims repeatedly that true Judaism always is threatening to those in power and that Jews have suffered worse oppression than almost any other group in history precisely because they are perceived as such a threat—takes psychological projection to new heights.

One could easily continue in this vein. The reader will find internal contradictions, disclaimers that are consistently violated, and outright errors. Two examples of the latter are Mr. Lerner's incorrect account of Jewish mystical terminology and his inaccurate retelling of the classic Talmudic story of the rabbis who followed their own majority opinion as against a heavenly voice that supported a minority opinion. A few points here and there that Mr. Lerner makes are engaging or challenging, and one or two sections raise pertinent questions, but overall his work will be most attracive to those, like President and Mrs. Clinton, already predisposed to accept Michael Lerner's view of the world. □

That Old-Time Gospel

GORDON TULLOCK

HAVING had a long life in economics, Professor Galbraith apparently feels that we are in need of a survey of American economic history over this century. This is what he gives in this book, and, needless to say, it is not an impartial survey. He presents not what happened, but what he thinks it would be nice for us to think happened.

Here is a bit of history you won't find in his account: In the nineteenth century, missionaries for the so-called social gospel entered the United States (mostly from Germany), won converts, and for a long time played a major role

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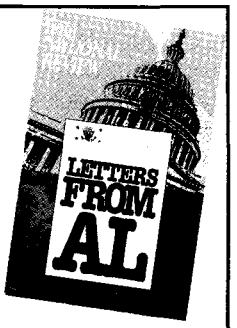

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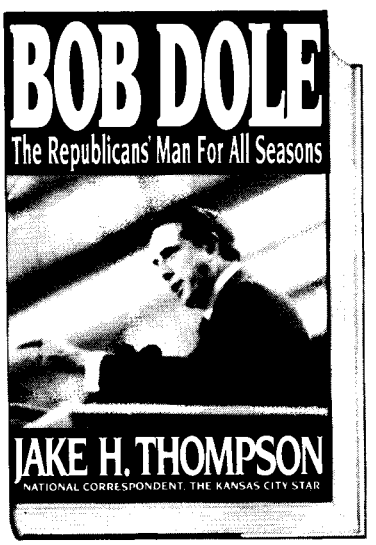

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in shaping the economics profession. The American Economic Association was founded by them. In fact, there were more clergymen present at its first meeting than economists. In part, this was a reaction against Adam Smith (about whom Mr. Galbraith has some critical comments in this book). Exponents of this gospel wanted to use the state to impose their social ideas on the economy.

The social gospel had a great influence in the early part of this century, but has gradually been dying out. The reason I bring this up is that, although he never uses the term, John Kenneth Galbraith is one of the few remaining avatars of that movement.

Mr. Galbraith doubts that our economic system, even if supported by sensible government action, will produce beneficial results. This, he believes, is because the government is secretly controlled by the wealthy. Since he is himself wealthy and has, by his own account, played a major insider's role in various Democratic Administrations, this seems a curious complaint. Is control by the wealthy bad only when the wealthy in question are Republicans?

A Journey through Economic Time: A Firsthand View, by John Kenneth Galbraith (Houghton Mifflin, 255 pp., $24.95)

He favors accepting lower growth in return for greater equality. This is far from a unique point of view, but Mr. Galbraith shows no signs of realizing some of the effects such a strategy would have. He mentions his famous *The Affluent Society*, written in 1958. He seems unaware that growth since then has been so sizable that, judged by present-day standards, society in 1958 was poverty stricken. If, at that time, we had chosen to emphasize egalitarian policies at the expense of growth, the poor would be worse off than they are today.

Mr. Galbraith is a brilliant stylist, and he often puts his arguments in somewhat indirect form. He does not at any point, for example, say that Russia was not a menace to the West, but he does say he was opposed to the Reagan Administration's military buildup. He does not deny that the buildup may have had something to do with the breakdown of the Soviet Union. Neither does he affirm it. He does not mention it at all, but simply criticizes the buildup.

Again in this context, he implies that the things he dislikes are the result of wealthy and powerful people exploiting the poor. "It is by no means incidental that much military expenditure, that for sophisticated weaponry in particular, rewards a comfortably affluent part of the larger population. Far better that, it is held, than spending that impairs the character of the poor."

Mr. Galbraith's claims that we are denying help to the poor in order to help the armaments industry are badly mistaken. Such calculations are of course debatable, but I believe the total amount of money spent each year on helping the poor has for a very long time been larger than our military budget. Certainly, it is larger than the cost of sophisticated weapons, which he emphasizes.

Here we reach a general comment about Mr. Galbraith's work, one that was first made, I believe, by Harold Demsetz. It is that Mr. Galbraith shows a complete and total unwillingness to face any criticism of his work that is based on either economic theory or statistics.

In one of his earlier attacks on capitalist rationality he said the price of coal companies' stock is higher in the winter, when the demand for coal is largest. He said that this shows that investors are not very bright.

Henry Hazlitt looked at the data and found that the price of coal companies' stock was higher in the summer than it was in the winter, although the difference was so small it could be put down to random variance. In other words, the phenomena Mr. Galbraith used to criticize capitalism never existed. This is a minor matter, but you would think he would at least have withdrawn his comment. He never did.

This book is a very partisan history of the American economy, and to a lesser extent the world economy, over the last seventy years. It puts great emphasis on the role Mr. Galbraith played in molding American policy. There is no doubt that he did play a significant role. I regard that as an unfortunate comment on the workings of our government, but he is clearly proud of it. Still, from the standpoint of the social gospel, his policies were always right. Perhaps it would be fair to say that his economic views are more a matter of religion than of economics. Which is why this book, like all the work of John Kenneth Galbraith, will probably be widely read and appreciated by people who know very little about economics. □

Mr. Tullock is Karl Eller Professor of Economics and Political Science at the University of Arizona. He has published many books, of which his two latest are The New Federalist *and* The Economics of Non-Human Societies.

FILM

Questionable Questions

JOHN SIMON

AMONG the great American ideals that do not often get mentioned aloud is getting rich quick. Though the hard-work ethic receives all the publicity, it is striking it rich that is considered the inalienable right of the man in the street, always ready to trade in his two well-worn soles for four white-walled tires. But where is Lady Luck hiding?

Back in the late Fifties—and still today—one of the answers would be the quiz shows. And here now is ***Quiz Show***, a superproduction directed by Robert Redford, which deals with the famous scandal that surrounded and scuttled *Twenty-One* and *The $64,000 Question*, and the first thing that strikes me is, "Ah, the good old days, when $64,000 was still a lot of money." Nowadays it takes two-million-dollar tips to waitresses to make us sit up and take notice. The second thought that occurs is how able a filmmaker Robert Redford has become. With his screenwriter, Paul Attanasio—a Harvard man and former film critic for the *Washington Post*—Mr. Redford has put together a solid two-hour entertainment that also teaches us something

Mr. Simon is NR*'s film critic.*

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about television, greed, and human nature, three phenomena that, it seems, will remain with us forever.

As some of you will recall, everybody watched *Twenty-One*, the jewel of the fabulous quiz shows, not only because it could make you wealthy, but also because it could make you wise. For those, as you may also recall, were the days when education still meant something beyond a foot in the door of opportunity, when, indeed, knowledge was still a good in itself, worth striving after for the sake of one's humanity and spiritual well-being. So even if the questions asked on the show were often (though not always) trivial, and if knowing the answers qualified one only as an idiot savant, it was splendid to see the contestants come up with those answers, and sometimes beat them to it oneself. One could learn things from the show, even hope to be on it someday, and what fun just to watch people enclosed in isolation booths in the act of sweating and thinking. Behind those glass partitions was thought made visible, and we could see as through a glass, brightly.

And then the revelation that it was all a put-up job, fakery, a con game! Contestants who seemed to have charisma, viewer appeal, were fed the answers beforehand. They often acted out a struggle for the answer—at other times not, with the golden facts simply leaping from their lips—and we thought it was a genuine fight, took sides, rooted for this or that valiant contestant, and we were royally had. Most painful was the downfall of Charles Van Doren, son of Mark, the Pulitzer Prize–winning poet and professor, and Dorothy, a novelist and editor, and the nephew of the famed Carl Van Doren. Charlie was, as the press kit rightly states, the intellectuals' answer to Elvis Presley. Until the Golden Boy came up with the wrong answer, and, worse yet, was proved a fraud. Many a person besides him lost his innocence with the fall of the scholar and gentleman Charles Van Doren.

The movie is based in part on the chapter on quiz shows in Richard Goodwin's *Remembering America*, and Goodwin himself was instrumental—but not crucial—in the unmasking. Unfortunately, the movie, for greater dramatic effect, vastly increases his importance in the investigation, and this strikes me as wrong. We are, to be sure, all used to historical fiction and film cheating a bit, but should a historical film about the evils of cheating also cheat? The story seems dramatic enough as it happened, and a strict documentary approach might have been no less rewarding. Certain confrontations that didn't occur, certain assumptions about what might have been said are helpful narrative devices, but I kept watching and wondering: Is this trick really necessary?

The movie honestly implicates both the sponsor, Geritol (the tonic that was to help you get rid of "tired blood"), and NBC and its chairman, and shows how and why those guilty parties got off scot free, with only the show's producers, Dan Enright and Al Freedman, taking the rap along with some of the contestants. Enright and Freedman argue that the whole thing was, after all, only show business. Just as sex and violence are faked for its sake, why shouldn't right answers be simulated for the sake of suspense and audience involvement?

Not an easy question to answer. Eventually, though, we must insist that the viewer knows that those movie stars aren't actually having intercourse or killing one another, whereas here the poor boobs glued to the tube were literally duped into perceiving charlatans as paragons. True, but what if those stars offscreen really indulged in those activities? And, more important, was Elvis really an artist or just a popular idol? Does it finally matter that much whether Charlie Van Doren was really omniscient or just a damn good impersonator of the perfect polymath?

We won't resolve these questions here. The movie, however, is hugely diverting and has quite often enough the ring of truth. The dialogue is deft and credible, the acting generally apt and persuasive, the pacing exemplary, the re-creation of times gone by accurate to seemingly the last detail (no cheating with production design—that *would* be a sin!), and there is consistently food for thought. Fast food, if you like, but not junk food.

That, granted, is a lot. The only performance I have trouble with is Rob Morrow's Dick Goodwin. Morrow is a personable actor, and has clearly studied the Boston accent assiduously, most likely from recordings of John F. and Robert Kennedy, both of whom were Goodwin's employers. But the accent comes out of Morrow too slickly;

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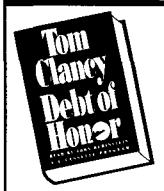

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he is like one of those Katharine Hepburn impersonators who sound more Hepburn than Hepburn herself. There is also a certain oiliness at work: when this Dick Goodwin asserts that he would not have been on the take, I do not believe him. Or was that deliberate? I should hope not.

The others are superb. Take John Turturro, who plays Herbie Stempel, a nonentity from Queens, whom *Twenty-One* made into a folk hero and then, when his audience appeal seemed to wear thin, tried to drop like a hot potato. This Stempel, clearly a bright but unbalanced person, is incarnated with a dazzling incisiveness, a bountiful histrionic inventiveness that Mr. Turturro has always exhibited, but that here seems more riveting than ever. This is no longer mere naturalistic acting carried to its heights; it is subtly stylized, cutting through to the essence, transcendent. You never know what to make of this man, even when you think you know all about him.

Ralph Fiennes (the commandant in *Schindler's List*), playing Charles Van Doren, is almost as good. The script provides him with a fine, gradual, wholly believable progression from honesty to collusion, and the actor traces every delicate scruple from its inception to its demise with the most exquisite sense of gradation and shading. Weakness has seldom been portrayed more charmingly and thus more pitiably. Apparently Eastern intellectuals in the movies have to be portrayed by British actors, and so Mark Van Doren, too, is played by a distinguished British actor, Paul Scofield, who squeezes every drop of tragic dignity out of the part.

Particularly devastating, too, are David Paymer and Hank Azaria, as Dan and Al, the two friendly-fiendish producers of *Twenty-One*. Enright's patronizingly Machiavellian evil contrasts beautifully with Freedman's buffoonishly demotic one, and the two actors meld perfectly into one of those con men's coins that is heads on both sides. Altogether, the large cast, many of them stage actors, executes the Redford bidding flawlessly, and Michael Ballhaus's fine, low-key photography and Mark Isham's crisp score add polished finishing touches to this sleek, adult entertainment.

■ Bruce Beresford, that good director, is being criticized as having come a cropper with ***A Good Man in Africa***. I haven't read William Boyd's much-praised novel on which the screenplay, also by Mr. Boyd, is based, and I can believe that the book is more complex, subtle, and intellectually compelling. And I admit that the last reel or two may have difficulties with tone, wobbling somewhat between trenchancy and absurdity, compassion and ridicule. Aside from that, though, there is much to commend in this tale of Morgan Leafy, a mid-level English diplomat in an emerging African country where the British presence is still strongly felt.

Morgan Leafy (the very name is masterly) is a pure Evelyn Waugh character, a slippery bachelor trying to juggle various women, black and white, in his private life, while straining to pull off endless sleights-of-hand to placate both his fatuous British superiors and the African bosses and populace, mostly corrupt or superstitious. Soon more than his livelihood—his life—is at stake, and we watch his increasingly desperate, comic-horrible stratagems with unabating amusement. Everything intensifies further with the arrival of a "Royal" in Kinjanja, and with Morgan's survival contingent on subverting the one seemingly good white man in Africa.

Colin Friels, with perfect tact, makes Leafy neither too hateful nor too lovable. He is a fellow forever slipping on the banana peel of historic shifts, unconcerned with anything but cushioning his fall. Friels is surrounded by highly savvy comedians, white and black, some of whom may exaggerate a bit, but others, like Sean Connery and Louis Gossett Jr., get both the hilarity and the seriousness—or sinisterness—dead right. And Andrzej Bartkowiak's camera is no slouch, either. I suspect that much of the flak is due to political correctness. The Africans in the film are certainly not shown in a flattering light; but no more so are the whites. Rwanda is a tragedy; this not so mythical Kinjanja is a bloody comedy. Both are possible, historically and dramatically. *A Good Man in Africa* is a good film that goes slightly bad in the end. How much better than today's customary trajectory from bad to worse! □

NIGHTLIFE

The Forties in the Hall

HADLEY ARKES

SHE WAS, even at that time, in the late Eighties, an established presence in the world of cabaret; but it was even clearer that evening, at Blues Alley in Washington, that Karen Akers had taken, unmistakably, a command of her vocation. She would move that night, with a graceful authority, through the repertoire of the *chanteuse*: from an old standard, perhaps Rodgers and Hart, to something self-consciously new, with jagged lyrics, trying to speak, as they say, to the sensibility of our own day. She would also move between French and English, and end with an evocation of Edith Piaf in "*Je ne regrette rien*." But when Piaf offered up that song, with a flourish of defiance, her emotional scars were evident, not far beneath the surface. Karen Akers offered an elegant, forceful statement, but it was hard to imagine that she would have anything particularly steamy to confess. Had she sprung from a distant place, a refugee from a turbulent life? Not exactly, but as it turned out, there was a story to be told.

Advance the scene a few years, to an evening at the Carlyle in New York in the early Nineties. Again she is in an intimate setting. She draws, near the end, a song from the 1920s by Gus Kahn, "Dream a Little Dream of Me." A pleasant, venerable tune, but not what one would call a searing number. And yet, stroked by the right hands, pearls may begin to glow. With a touch of elegance and seriousness, and with a careful avoidance of embellishment, the result, in her voice, could be quite moving:

I'm willing to linger till dawn, dear,
Just saying this:

Sweet dreams till sunbeams find
you,

Mr. Arkes is the Edward Ney Professor at Amherst College and a contributing editor of NR.

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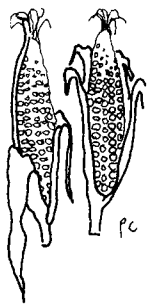
Sweet dreams that leave all worries behind you,
But in your dreams, whatever they be,
Dream a little dream of me.

More than moving, it could be riveting. "She did make defect perfection, / And, breathless, power breathe forth." Her rendition made its way onto a CD in 1991 (*Unchained Melodies*), and I discovered anew, in playing the tape I had made from the CD, that I had programmed three reprises of that performance. I remarked on that point recently at lunch with her, and she began, in a softened voice, to recall the line of the melody. She has received accounts from two couples, who had taken in her performance, that the song finally sparked the moment, and moved the man to propose marriage. That song, she said, and "Flight," by Craig Carnelia, which was on her most recent CD (*Just Imagine*). Though Mr. Carnelia is an estimable composer, I couldn't quite fathom why anyone would be wafted by that song to marriage, as so many were in the Forties by, say, "I'll Get By as Long as I Have You." Karen Akers has been steadfast in presenting the works of recent composers. Her audience listens appreciatively—but then rather wishes that she would get back to Gershwin and the old "standards."



And for the romantic she is, inefaceably, those standards must mark her natural home. She confesses—to no one's surprise—that she has lately had her enthusiasm fired again for Irving Berlin. And—the height of excitement—she has been sent a French translation of *Annie Get Your Gun*. All of which recalled Joseph Sobran's account of falling into a John Wayne movie in Paris. Wayne saunters to the bar, orders a drink, the bartender says, "Howdy," and on the screen the subtitle says, "*Enchanté*." We may find something similar in store as she tries to render, *en français*, "Very notable, cut-your-throatable Indians."

But there is, with her, nothing factitious or feigned about the lapses into French or Italian. Her maiden name was Orth-Pallavicini. Her father was an artist, an inspired offshoot of an Austrian–Italian family. He settled in the United States, raised a family of six children in Woodstock, New York, and later in Manhattan. When in her teens Karen gave him reason to meditate upon her judgment in young men, he found sufficient reason to pull up the family and return to Europe. The whole experience was enveloped by a large, spirited family, and the interlude was carried out, not with resignation but with a certain dash: rollicking picnics in Italian hills, with the unfurling of dinner service and large, portable bar. Then back to New York to attend Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart and, finally, Hunter. She now moves from New York to London, Boston to Los Angeles, to a workshop in Connecticut for aspiring performers in cabaret, then back to her home in Washington, D.C.

She glides in the current of a thoroughly modern woman, with the success she has rightly earned. But her audiences know that she speaks with her most authentic voice when she speaks the lyrics of the 1930s and 1940s, in songs such as "A Nightingale Sang in Berkeley Square." She may become racy, with "Bewitched, Bothered, and Bewildered," or the more recent "Night, Make My Day." But it is plain that she fits most closely the time in which it was no embarrassment for popular songs to be explicitly romantic—when men were moved to propose after hearing Dick Haymes sing "I'll Get By as Long as I Have You." Some of those marriages no doubt failed to last, and the couples probably discarded the lyrics along with their other illusions. And yet, we know now that the sentiment touched a truth confirmed in our experience. As the statisticians persist in telling us, married men do live longer. For a nickel in the jukebox, Dick Haymes not only delivered stirring entertainment, but, as it turns out, quite a decent social science, to say nothing of counselling, at an unbeatable price.

That Karen Akers herself is rooted most surely in this period may be reflected even in the modern works that she has managed to render so compellingly. With all of our esteem for Cole Porter and his cleverness, I don't think he ever etched in his lyrics a more precise portrait, or one more evocative of his time, than the portrait assembled by Craig Carnelia in "The Picture in the Hall" and recorded in *Unchained Melodies:*

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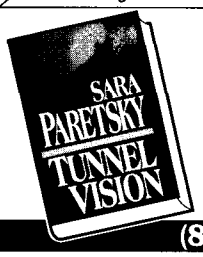

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In her hand she holds a small bouquet;
In the distance there's a Chevrolet;
In the corner there's a tree,
Only half of which we see,
In the churchyard with the bride and the soldier at her side.

And she's got wavy hair,
And she wears her shoulders all but bare,
And the soldier looks her way
On a breezy Brooklyn day
In the Forties in the fall,
In the picture in the hall.

And the cloud is passing by
In the moment in the sky,
And it's captured like the faces and the flowers and the car and the gown,
In a hundred shades of brown . . .
Frozen in the fall in the Forties on the wall.

Some of us grew up with those pictures in the hall, and we will ever retain the most vivid sense of those young people captured at that time, "in a hundred shades of brown." And that may account for why those lyrics, in Karen Akers's voice, are even more moving. What may not be quite as evident is that every part of her work is touched by that understanding. Of course, she made her first success in the Seventies, and she aspires to be current with her times. But she is, in her deepest reflexes, a child of the Forties, and a product of those currents from abroad that nourished New York in its best years. The mark of her achievement is that she can be heard in all places; but she is also a style embodied, and she can be seen, in her apt setting, this autumn in New York. □

Karen Akers will be appearing through October 15 at the Rainbow & Stars at Rockefeller Center. Inquiries should be made through Tony Origlio Management, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, New York 10036; 212-695-7400.

DELECTATIONS

Home Alone

DIGBY ANDERSON

CHARLES MURRAY is a man for whom I have considerable respect. I also respect Michael Novak. But they are both wrong about single-parent families. We have seen an enormous growth in such families—if they deserve the name—and, indeed, of adult gentlemen and ladies living on their own without children. Mr. Murray and Mr. Novak are right that such "families" are often bad for the children and impose enormous economic and social costs on proper families. But this is not their chief defect. Neither Mr. Murray, Mr. Novak, nor any other commentator to date has revealed the most important reason why broken homes are awful. It will now be revealed.

It is not possible to cook and eat properly on your own. Take the best of French, northern Italian, or Indian cuisine: 80 per cent of the dishes require at least two diners. All the old recipes used to be for ten or more. Postwar, they assumed four or six. Yes, yes, I can do my sums too. Of course I can divide quantities by ten, six, or four to get those suitable for a man who has abandoned his wife and children. But it doesn't work. Any cook knows that not all ingredients should be reduced or increased proportionately. For instance, as that French daube is adjusted for one you will need proportionately more salt and wine. If you use two cloves of garlic in a daube for ten people, it doesn't mean you use a fifth of a clove for one. But much more important than recipe adjustment, cooking dishes such as daube for one is pathetic, and shopping for one is highly restricted.

Remember this when you think of leaving your wife. If your promises mean nothing to you, then think of what you will be eating on your own. Or rather of the huge number of dishes you won't. Go on, get the cookbook down from the shelf. Work through it. By page five, you'll have pulled yourself together. If America thought more of food, there wouldn't be any single-parent families.

However, we poor cookery columnists must deal with the world as it is. I said singles couldn't cook properly but I didn't say they couldn't cook at all. The secret of cooking for one is not to adjust any preferred dish to one-type quantities but to choose a cuisine suitable for one. French won't do at all. The dishes are too highly cuisined and require too many ingredients, many of which should be bought fresh daily. (I am charitably assuming our one is a working chap who has other things to do than cook.) What is wanted is simplicity without tedium.

Curiously the place to look is southern Italy. Dinners will start with pasta, dried pasta. Out you go. Buy lots of it. Different shapes and sizes but not colored. Now do some trials. Spend all Saturday boiling them in gallons of water (with salt and olive oil added to the water) till you get it right. Southern Italians use small quantities of fairly dry sauce. Their ingredients, like the pasta, keep well. Here are a few: dried tomatoes in oil, crushed salted anchovies and oil, chopped salami, canned white beans, garlic and chili in oil. The next course will be fish or meat grilled or fried: red mullet, sole, liver, kidneys, veal, lamb chops, ground meats—whatever, but keep it simple. No vegetables, just oil and lemon. Then a green salad, and finish with cheese and fruit.

And the routine? Simple. Once every couple of weeks replenish the stock of oil, vinegar, salami, garlic, keeping cheeses (Romano, Provolone, etc.), pasta. All you need buy each day is the meat or fish and salad greens (or keep a stock of endive in the dark) and bread. When you get home at 6:30, wash and dry the salad, get the sauce ingredients ready, then if you are English go to the pub, if you are American have a shower. At 7:30 have a large glass of white wine and put the pasta water on. Have another glass. Put pasta in about 7:50 and do up the sauce. Serve both at 8:00. Eat. Cook meat or fish to order—more glasses—then salad, fruit, and cheese. Eat all from a deep large plate with just one knife, fork, and spoon. Washing up will be those plus a couple of cooking pots and the salad bowl.

Later you can elaborate by adding antipasti. But try the simple way for six months first. It is very good. If you can't get over your longing for daube, go back to your wife. □

Mr. Anderson, a contributing editor to NR, is the editor of The Loss of Virtue *(National Review Books).*

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

Fitzgerald and Hemingway: A Dangerous Friendship, by Matthew J. Bruccoli (Carroll and Graf, 236 pp., $21.95)

THIS is a very useful book, much more than an expansion of an earlier work. It does not change one's view of the relationship between Hemingway and Fitzgerald, but it deepens and darkens it. Fitzgerald was a worshipper of many heroes. Hemingway stood at the top of his pantheon during the 1920s. As Hemingway said, Fitzgerald's egregious weakness drew Hemingway's scorn and bullying; but the other writer's skill intimidated Hemingway. The latter wrote more first-rate stuff but nothing as good as *Gatsby*, and, worse, he knew it. All this was a poisonous brew. Within the large outline, however, Mr. Bruccoli, a prodigious scholar of American literature, has corrections to make on matters of important detail. Under Mr. Bruccoli's expert examination, many things that are supposed to have happened turn out to be so many Elvis sightings. In Mr. Bruccoli's highly original treatment of *A Moveable Feast* (1964), he shows that much in this supposed memoir *never happened*: the book is fiction, in which the fictitious characters have the names of real people. This is clearly the way the book should be read, though no doubt it does express Hemingway's emotions thirty years later. They were very complicated, and far from attractive. As ever, I'm glad I was not Maxwell Perkins.

—JEFFREY HART

Between the Wars: Letters and Essays, by Aldous Huxley, edited by David Bradshaw (Ivan R. Dee, 288 pp., $26)

OF THIS century's two premier dystopian writers, Huxley and Orwell, time seems to have given Huxley the edge in prophetic insight. Orwell saw the dangers inherent in institutionalized, state-sponsored deception, particularly in the manipulation of language, but he reckoned less on science. Huxley, on the other hand, grasped that social engineering would reach its logical culmination in genetic engineering; science and technology run amok would bring forth the New Man, shorn of any unadaptability to the New State. Today this vision does not appear quite so remote as when it arose out of a novelist's fancy. Paradoxically, early in their careers Huxley and Orwell both danced with the Left and its faith in state power. The dance was a tricky one, for there are no dystopias that aren't planned and executed by such power. This book of Huxley's essays and letters from the 1920s and 1930s, ably annotated by Mr. Bradshaw, recalls the fears of these men and others that the whole civilized world was on the brink of collapse, and it records the frightful solutions they felt desperate enough to propose. At one point Huxley asserted that parliamentary democracy was finished and that the masses needed ruling by an "aristocracy of intellect" so they might be "improved." "A growing body of public opinion," he wrote approvingly in 1932, "is now in favor of the deliberate planning of our social life in all its aspects." Nonetheless the march of science gave Huxley doubts about how it would be used, doubts visible in his novels; how unfortunate, he admits, that "wisdom should be so much harder to come by than knowledge." This is the political Huxley who preceded the spiritual Huxley of later years: often wrong, always fascinating; when right, dead right, almost in spite of himself.

—TRACY LEE SIMMONS

Politically Correct Death: Answering the Arguments for Abortion Rights, by Francis J. Beckwith (Baker Books, 256 pp., $19.95)

THIS aggressively argued and lucid book is a fiery depository of right data and fallacies exposed. Wrecking Potemkin village after village of fashionable abortion-rights propaganda—e.g., the alleged absence of fetal pain in abortion or the reasonableness of fetal viability as a measure of the moral quality of the abortion act—Mr. Beckwith lays bare the selfishness and delusory nature of pro-choice morality. His smooth parsings of abortion-rights polemics are accompanied by a complete bibliography and seven appendices, including "Choice Quotes," a damning collection of confused musings by abortion apologists, featuring this from Planned Parenthood founder Margaret Sanger: "The most merciful thing a large family can do for one of its infant members is to kill it."

—BRAD STETSON

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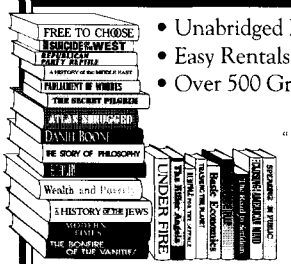

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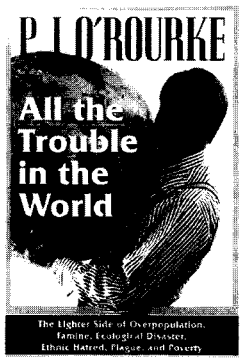
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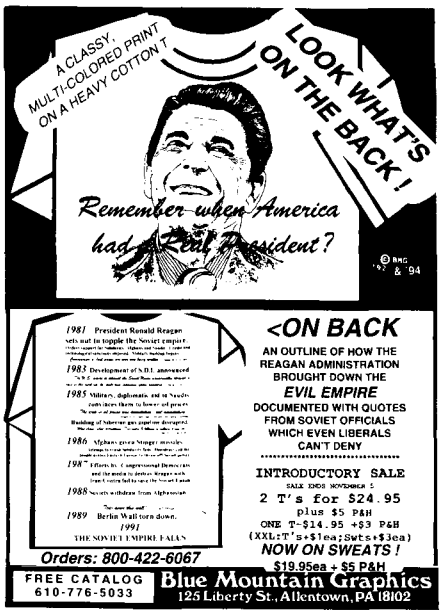
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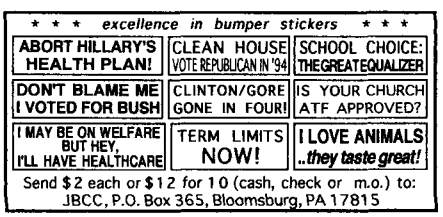
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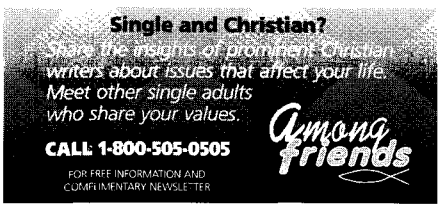
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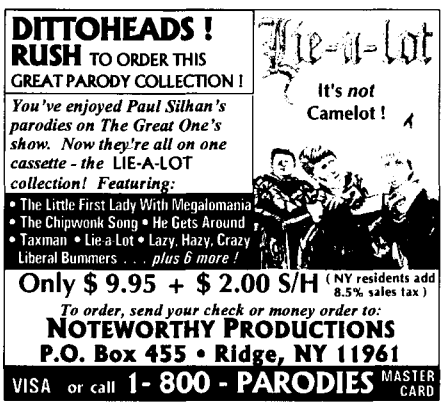
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COYNE

(Continued from page 32)

by side are critical." True, no doubt. But hardly the stuff to juice up an issueless campaign, unless you're somehow going to prove Republicans are anti-mammogram. According to some reporters covering the campaign, Mrs. Netsch's supporters had been hoping for voluntary withdrawal by Senator Severns, which may yet come. But barring that, there is obviously no way she will be asked to leave the ticket.

Nor do the medical problems stop at the top of the ticket. Also in July, Nancy Drew Sheehan, the Democratic nominee for treasurer, underwent a hysterectomy. Al Hofeld, the Democratic candidate for attorney general—and the man who spent millions to beat Senator Alan Dixon and succeeded only in electing Carol Moseley-Braun—fell ill in July and had a kidney stone removed.

The latest campaigner to make sick call is John Stroger, candidate for Cook County board president. Stroger is a Democratic party loyalist who is being given the fight of his career by Joe Morris, a former Reagan Justice Department official who is campaigning with wit, verve, high intelligence, and well-defined positions on each of the central issues.

Mr. Stroger, who has little to recommend him beyond an impressive physique, an unfailingly courteous manner, and strong party loyalty (he has consistently swung critical black votes to Mayor Daley), revealed in early September that he was operated on for cancer two and a half years ago, and that a series of radiation treatments had been concluded this summer. "Everything is OK now," he said, without going into further detail. Mr. Morris is too much of a gentleman to challenge that assertion.

In the meantime, there are good, important, and healthy campaigns under way here, two of which—Joe Morris's, and Michael Patrick Flanagan's against Dan Rostenkowski in the 5th Congressional District—could significantly alter state and perhaps national political history. A third race—Bill Kelly's against Bobby Rush in the lst District—could give us the new social and cultural conservative paradigm needed for political races to come. Rush is the personification of cultural malaise, and Kelly is using him to redefine basic issues.

In general, however, the big-ticket issues this year are either muted or discussed in abstract party-line fashion. But Illinois politics may soon get a solid reality check with the possible incarceration of Congressmen Dan Rostenkowski (embezzlement and fraud) and Mel Reynolds (rape and obstruction of justice). For the first time in political history, two congressmen from neighboring districts and members of the same committee (Ways and Means) may go to jail together.

At this writing, the odds are that both will be re-elected nonetheless. (Mike Flanagan is running a determined shoe-leather campaign but is getting little help from the GOP hierarchy; and the GOP didn't even run a candidate against Reynolds in the 2nd District.) But their prison experience would add deeply to their understanding—and, ultimately, ours—of crime and its root causes. That's education at its most basic. And as for health care, in jail it's a single-payer system. □

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TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 P	2 D	3 I	4 H		5 E	6 K	7 V		8 A	9 F	10 B	11 L	12 U		13 R	14 S	15 W	16 P	17 C	18 H				
19 X	20 Q		21 N	22 J	23 G	24 A	25 F	26 V	27 D	28 M	29 B		30 H	31 C	32 J	33 O	34 K	35 E	36 N	37 X				
38 P	39 I	40 G	41 L	42 T	43 Q		44 E	45 C	46 K	47 D	48 N		49 R	50 U	51 Q	52 I		53 H	54 O	55 D				
56 L	57 S	58 F	59 A	60 D	61 P	62 J	63 H		64 G	65 K	66 R		67 E	68 V	69 N	70 X	71 O	72 C	73 B	74 A	75 I			
	76 R	77 J		78 F	79 G	80 M		81 L	82 U	83 B	84 W		85 I	86 S		87 K	88 T	89 R		90 L	91 A			
92 K	93 Q	94 C	95 G		96 V	97 H	98 B	99 N	100P	101A	102D		103U	104X	105F		106L	107E	108P	109R	110M			
111T		112S	113H	114K	115E	116O		117J	118L	119P	120N		121T	122M	123B	124F		125C	126O	127S	128D			
129H	130I	131Q	132X		133H	134E	135M	136L	137N		138P	139W	140C	141F		142X	143H	144Q	145F	146I				
147V	148M	149B	150G	151P	152A	153R	154F		155W	156H	157J		158D	159K	160A	161B	162O	163X	164P	165G				
166G	167O		168P	169L	170E		171P	172V		173U	174N	175E		176T	177Q	178C	179W		180X	181R	182E			
183D	184C		185V	186U		187L	188O	189S		190S	191F	192A	193J	194I	195N	196T	197U	198D	199B	200R				

DIRECTIONS

A. March like a Brownshirt — 152 101 8 160 74 192 24 59 91

B. A little odd — 199 149 83 161 10 73 29 123 98

C. Blackballing — 45 125 94 17 72 178 31 184 140

D. Office item (2 words) — 47 128 27 60 183 198 158 2 102 55

E. D.C. institution — 182 115 134 67 35 175 170 5 107 44

F. One who saw it all — 141 145 105 9 191 78 154 25 124 58

G. Ambulance chaser's favorite malady — 64 150 166 23 165 40 95 79

H. Not well-bred — 113 143 63 30 53 156 133 97 129 18 4

I. Like a 45–10 football score — 39 85 194 146 3 130 52 75

J. Situated — 62 77 32 193 117 22 157

K. Revenue enhancement — 87 159 114 65 46 34 92 6

L. Roy Roger's first steed (2 words) — 118 106 81 56 41 187 169 136 90 11

M. One or the other — 28 148 135 122 80 110

N. ESP types — 120 48 69 137 195 36 99 174 21

O. Women's vade-mecums — 33 126 54 116 162 188 71 167

P. Midwest capital — 151 168 138 100 61 108 119 38 16 164 171 1

Q. Muslim time of fasting — 93 177 51 131 43 144 20

R. Bill collector's quarry — 49 89 153 200 13 109 181 76 66

S. Filled the desks — 189 127 57 112 86 14 190

T. Ancient Egyptian city of note — 121 88 42 176 196 111

U. Toy-drum sound — 12 197 173 82 103 50 186

V. Vast — 185 26 147 68 172 96 7

W. Nightmarish Austro-Czech writer — 179 155 15 84 139

X. January 6, in many Christian churches — 70 142 19 180 104 163 37 132

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram. LAURA OFOBIKE: *Permissiveness:* "Adolescents are having babies because they can, physiologically. Having a baby though, is not the hard part of parenthood; living with it is. But how many teens busy flaunting their maturity want to interrupt passion for a reality check?"

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The Questions At Cairo

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 6

The business in Cairo is becoming a first-class philosophical brawl, featuring the Catholic Church, by no means united. Although the Pope is the supreme authority in the Church and, as a matter of dogma, cannot err on doctrinal matters, he is substantially protected by the question, What is a dogmatic matter? Nobody can go further than to say: That which the Pope declares ex cathedra—to be a doctrinal point, is a doctrinal point. But the Pope has done that only twice, first in affirming his infallibility (1870), second in affirming the Assumption of Mary, the Mother of Christ (1950).

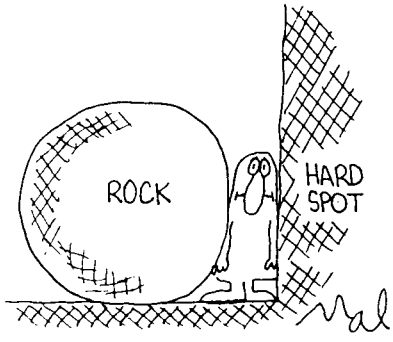
So what is the community at large to make of the strenuous advertising campaign sponsored by "Catholics Speak Out"? It is an open letter to Pope John Paul II "on the question of contraception" and is endorsed by a dozen organizations (e.g., Conference for Catholic Lesbians) unfamiliar except to theological zoo-watchers, which however isn't to say that the Open Letter is without interest.

The language of the Open Letter reminds the reader that many Catholics are equipped to serve as Philadelphia lawyers. "Respect for human dignity demands that we recognize the beauty and goodness of sexual intimacy in committed relationships whether or not they are open to offspring." That assertion is primarily interesting for what it does not say. It is a Judaeo-Christian teaching that "sexual intimacy" is beautiful and good between husband and wife. The Open Letter demands approval, indeed a celebration, of sexual congress between homosexuals or for that matter adulterers, just so long as the relationship is "committed." Some of my best friends are committed fornicators.

But the authors, for all their artful conceits, are serious-minded dissenters who touch down on a kind of theological plebiscitarianism that challenges the whole idea of doctrine, in whatever church. The Methodists were recently divided on the question of homosexuality, the Episcopalians on the matter of the ordination of women, and the tendency is to resolve these conflicts by counting the votes on either side of the issue. "The legitimacy of teaching requires that it be embraced by the faithful," declares the Open Letter. That is different from the Catholic contention that the consensual belief of the faithful has a venerating function that tends to give special life to an article of faith. It is by no means a question permanently closed whether contraception violates the *depositum fidei*, the distillate of Christianity. Some modifications would have the effect of rescinding the faith. If the Vatican were to declare that in fact Christ did not rise on the third day, this would do to Christianity what the Berlin Wall did to Marxism. But whatever the popularity of a particular teaching, it is distinctively Catholic to acknowledge what goes by the name of the "magisterium," and here the Pope's authority is supreme. It does not follow that the flock are docile. But massive refusal by Catholics to abide by marriage laws, to reject abortion as a means of birth control, or for that matter to keep holy the Sabbath, tells us more about the infidelity of the flock than about the magisterium's incompetence.

"Surveys in many countries consistently show that most Catholics believe that decisions of conscience about contraception rightfully belong with those who must bear and rear children." But that sweeping philosophical assertion is an invitation to the particularization of morals that defies not only Christian but also extra-Christian definitions of universal laws. Advocates of restrictions on smoking cigarettes do not need, in order to qualify to register their opinions, to establish that they themselves smoke. Laws against polygamy are understandably encouraged even by those who do not have polygamy in mind.

The Open Letter concludes by informing the Pope that he is just plain wrong on contraception (which I believe is the case). But at stake in Cairo is more merely than Yes or No on condoms. The population and ecological folk meet intending to deduce moral laws from natural problems, and this isn't what Catholicism is all about. Curbing population excesses has to do with curbing human appetites, not with gratifying them and calling them good and beautiful. □



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Let Us Pray?

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 9

Alan Dershowitz was one of four advocates of a rigid wall between church and state at the New York University Law School on the same day Dan Quayle spoke at San Francisco's Commonwealth Club about the continued deterioration in American life. One would not have thought the two men were speaking about the same country. Dershowitz—better known as a defense attorney who specializes in impossible clients (O. J. Simpson is his most recent) than as a professor of constitutional law at Harvard—was specifically defending the lengths to which the Supreme Court has gone since 1947 in erecting a wall between church and state. He said that the adamant division forced by the Court beginning in the Fifties has given us a glorious modus vivendi. The Court ruled back then that no state funds could be used by religious institutions and, most recently, that the rabbi in Rhode Island who pronounced a benediction on the graduating class was engaged in unconstitutional activity. If you haven't read the very latest version of the crime bill, you will need to speculate whether if he prays three times over the students, he will go to jail for life.

It is an expression of the tightness of the division even among sitting members of the Court that many of their rulings on the church/state question come in at 5 to 4. If the rules of a jury trial were to apply, any such division would mean: Mistrial. But for the Supreme Court 5 to 4 is the equivalent of 9 to 0.

Church/state is a complicated question having to do with the paradoxes of freedom. If the guarantee by the First Amendment against Congress's making laws respecting an establishment of reli-

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gion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof translates into a prohibition against hanging the Ten Commandments in a public-school building, what would a commensurate construction on free speech mean? Presumably it would protect shouting "Fire!" in a theater. And what would happen when your refusal (Fifth Amendment) to testify runs into OJ's right to compel testimony (Sixth Amendment)? Or, for that matter, how do you square the Fourth Amendment's guarantee against unreasonable search and seizure with the gentlefolk who, without a warrant, open your briefcase and handbag before you enter an airplane?

But all of the abstract paradoxes above are subject to prudential accommodations. What catches the attention is the satisfaction Professor Dershowitz exudes over how splendid have been the accomplishments of the Court. He speaks as though civil strife has been averted. It does not appear to have suggested itself to the separationists that there might be a connection between the exorcism of religion from public-school life, and the deterioration in family spotted by Dan Quayle and others.

Commenting on Mr. Quayle's speech the same night was William Bennett, former Education chief, drug czar, and professor (of philosophy). He spoke extraordinarily tough language on the MacNeil–Lehrer program. "We have become the kind of society that civilized countries used to send missionaries to." Mr. Bennett spoke about porn and incivility and violence and mayhem. "It has become very bad very quickly, in the past 25 or 30 years—the undoing of a part of America."

Now everybody knows all about the causal fallacy. That the sun set after you ate dinner doesn't mean the sun set because you ate dinner. And that there has been a 300 per cent increase in white illegitimacy since the termination of religion in the public schools doesn't mean the Warren Court's decision brought in illegitimacy. But chronological sequences aren't necessarily unrelated. If you had a stomach ache after eating dinner it could be that you ate too much.

And those who believe that the status quo in the matter of the wall between church and state is a permanent DMZ should be advised that the American Civil Liberties Union never sleeps. Professor Dershowitz and his colleague Norman Dorsen, former head of the ACLU, acknowledged that they have other targets in mind. Churches should not get tax exemptions, chaplains should not be paid out of government funds, God should be removed from coinage and from the oath of allegiance. And anything else you can think of to make that wall higher and stauncher.

But hold on! It isn't that Professor Dershowitz is complacent about crime. He advises that if he had been on the scene he'd have arrested Abraham the moment he raised his sword against Isaac. "Ah," a commentator observed, "but then you would have defended Abraham, right?"

"Right," said Alan Dershowitz. He smiled. Everybody else laughed. □

Some Dare Call it Music

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 13

The *New York Times*, making the case for permitting TV satellite dishes in China, observes that "America's most potent export is, was, and will always be its popular culture." And our biggest export isn't movies, it is rock music.

Concerning what young people do, it isn't a bad rule to draw the curtain, because the pains of pubescence are better unobserved. But anything that leaves scars demands scrutiny. And the MTV spectacular last week establishes that grown people are still in the coils of rock music.

Mostly the audience was young and very young people, but their elders were sprinkled about the audience. And what was arresting was the general numbness of the American cultural monitors. Their helplessness is testimony not to what the children have done to themselves, but to what they have done to us. It's one thing for a 16-year-old girl to weep and sob and swear she will never speak to her mother again because Mom told her to say goodnight to Dick at midnight and go to bed. Another if that girl, ten years later, has not developed emotional control beyond where it was when she was an adolescent.

Now the master of ceremonies of the MTV feature wasn't herself an adolescent, at least not biologically. Indeed "Roseanne" announced herself as the oldest host ever to serve at the annual celebration. Her appearance was in itself in the nature of an affront. If you have two teeth missing and you are in show business, either you get two false teeth or else you maneuver to keep your mouth closed. Ms. Roseanne did the opposite. Her upper legs would support an elephant. She might easily have shadowed them by wearing a skirt that extended down to a normal level, but no. Her skirt was that of a collegiate cheerleader. Her voice was perfectly harmonious with the evening's program, i.e., lacking in music. Her lines, one has to hope, were designed as barracks teenage. Yet the camera caught men and women of middle age guffawing. For instance, at . . . "Which one of you b-----s"—directed at the chorus line—"is sleeping with my ex?" The trained chorus replies, "Who *isn't*?" Or if you insist on a funnier line, "I have had so much plastic surgery if I have one more thing done they're going to throw in a free a--." When what is needed is another tongue.

But the house had yet to come down in convulsive laughter, which was evoked by, "People ask me, am I upset by my divorce? I am only upset that I am not a widow." But she checked the roars because she had a concluding line in her roll. "I'll never marry again. Why buy the bull when you can sit on the horns for free?"

If you can parse that, you are fluent in rock literature. Solzhenitsyn at Harvard pronounced rock music intolerable. Allan Bloom wouldn't have disagreed, but suggested the futility of protesting it on the grounds that it is "as unquestioned and unproblematic as the air the students breathe." Professor Bloom was even fatalistic about the failure of a countermovement. " . . . rock music has one appeal only, a barbaric appeal, to sexual desire—not love, not *eros*, but sexual desire undeveloped and untutored. Rock gives children, on a silver platter, . . . everything their parents always used to tell them they had to wait for until they grew up and would understand later."

What are the permanent scars? A lifelong toleration for such as Roseanne, who doesn't even sing? Mr. Bloom observed that those of his students who were once on drugs and have liberated themselves are nevertheless encumbered by sobriety. They "find it difficult to have enthusiasms or great expectations. It is as though the color has been drained out of their lives and they see everything in black and white."

In quiet corners of civilization one dares express concern for what MTV is, but there is scant attention to what it does. "This is what liberal education is meant to show [the students]. But as long as they have the Walkman on, they cannot hear what the great tradition has to say. And, after its prolonged use, when they take it off, they find they are deaf." It required a singular deafness, visual and moral, to find entertainment in the MTV spectacular. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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Kiss Me, I'm a Victim

NORMALLY I score very low in the victimhood stakes. In the discrimination list that begins "without regard to . . ." I can claim only "gender," which makes me a one-fer, not much of a prize in a nation that gives preference to mentally retarded transvestite dwarfs.

But hark! I'm not bona-fides-deprived after all. CNN says I'm a "chronic renter," prone to "compulsive renting" and suffering from "rental addiction." My compadres in Detroit already are enrolled in a workshop, and Atlanta columnist Marilyn Geewax has called for "home-ownership education programs." Soon there will be a self-help book, *Chasing Your Rental Demons*, containing a certain case history: Florence K., chronic renter for 35 years . . .

Not quite. I bought a condo in 1978 and learned to hate the American Dream for screwing up the content of my character. As a renter I was vibrant and whole; when something needed attention, I simply called the landlord and said, "This thingamabob is funny," and returned to my real interests while somebody fixed the thingamabob. As an owner, however, I became a dismal cretin; haunting hardware stores, watching Bob Vila instead of reading Evelyn Waugh, and engaging in moribund conversations with the Pond Scum Committee.

The turning point came when I used a snake to unclog my sink and the Plumbing Committee dropped by for a scintillating discussion about whether my downstairs neighbor owned half of the clog. That did it. Disgusted with picayune concerns, I sold the condo and happily resumed collecting what Americans contemptuously call "a drawerful of rent receipts."

Why does the government push ownership so vigorously when mortgage-interest deduction costs them $43 billion a year in lost revenue? Knowing the government as we do, they must have an awfully good reason for passing up $43 billion. What ever could it be?

George F. Babbitt: "When folks own their homes, they ain't starting labor troubles, and they're raising kids instead of raising hell."

William J. Levitt: "No man who owns his own house and lot can be a Communist. He has too much to do."

He won't give the government any kind of trouble, Communist or otherwise, because he has lobotomized himself with his own hoe. His overriding concern is caca—horse, cow, sheep; you name it and he'll talk about it. He even buys processed caca in big slabby bags with green lettering and mixes it with rotting vegetables and fish bones to make his grass grow. Being a home owner transforms him from a thinking reed into a tinkering, puttering, dull, distracted, small-minded bore, and that's just the kind of citizenry the government wants.

Only in America would a crushing thirty-year debt be regarded as a safety valve against civil insurrection. We use mortgages to shove as many people as possible into the middle class —the nervous, self-conscious, pettifogging class that Disraeli despised—to create a bogus squirearchy with "something to lose" so they will live in dread of losing it. Never has domestic tranquillity been courted in quite such an odd way.

"Do you think he knows something that we don't?"

Now, echoing Babbitt and Levitt, are the enterprise-zone conservatives with their big, confident EZ Con grins and their booming mantra, "Owning property is the beginning of conservatism." They claim the inner city would wither away if the government gave public-housing residents the money to buy their own units, but underneath their noisy optimism is the same peace-through-distraction mindset that devised Atlanta's panicky slogan, "The City Too Busy to Hate." Subconsciously the EZ Cons hope to stave off an imminent race war by creating poor black "home owners" and then convincing them that their highest priority, their noblest goal, the most important thing in the world is to stay indoors so they won't miss the Johnny B. Quik man.

NOW COMES the "rental addiction" movement, designed to corral the last of the red-hot renters and turn us into Dagwood Bumstead and Herb Woodley arguing over who owns the hedge clippers. To enlist us in the race to bland stability, it is necessary to destroy the rental market. There are many ways to do this and all are succeeding.

First, keep talking about that "drawerful of rent receipts" as if it were a drawerful of snakes. Second, put "Own" and "Rent" blocks on every form and cast a cold eye on anyone who checks "Rent." Keep this up until everyone thinks like the Virginia suburbanites interviewed by the *Washington Post*: "Many . . . expressed a deep-rooted scorn for renters, and said they thought they should be isolated somewhere far from people who own homes."

Third, destroy landlords. This is the easiest because the very word *landlord* is anathema nowadays, but if the vocabulary of Anglo-Saxon hierarchy won't deter them from offering apartments, open-housing laws will. If we applaud vicious idealists who pose as prospective tenants to catch "bigoted" landlords, fewer and fewer people will take on the legal risks of the rental business. Soon there will be no landlords left, and then a triumphant federal bureaucracy will force me to buy a house through HillaryHome.

—FLORENCE KING

St. Martin's will publish The Florence King Reader, *an anthology, early next year.*

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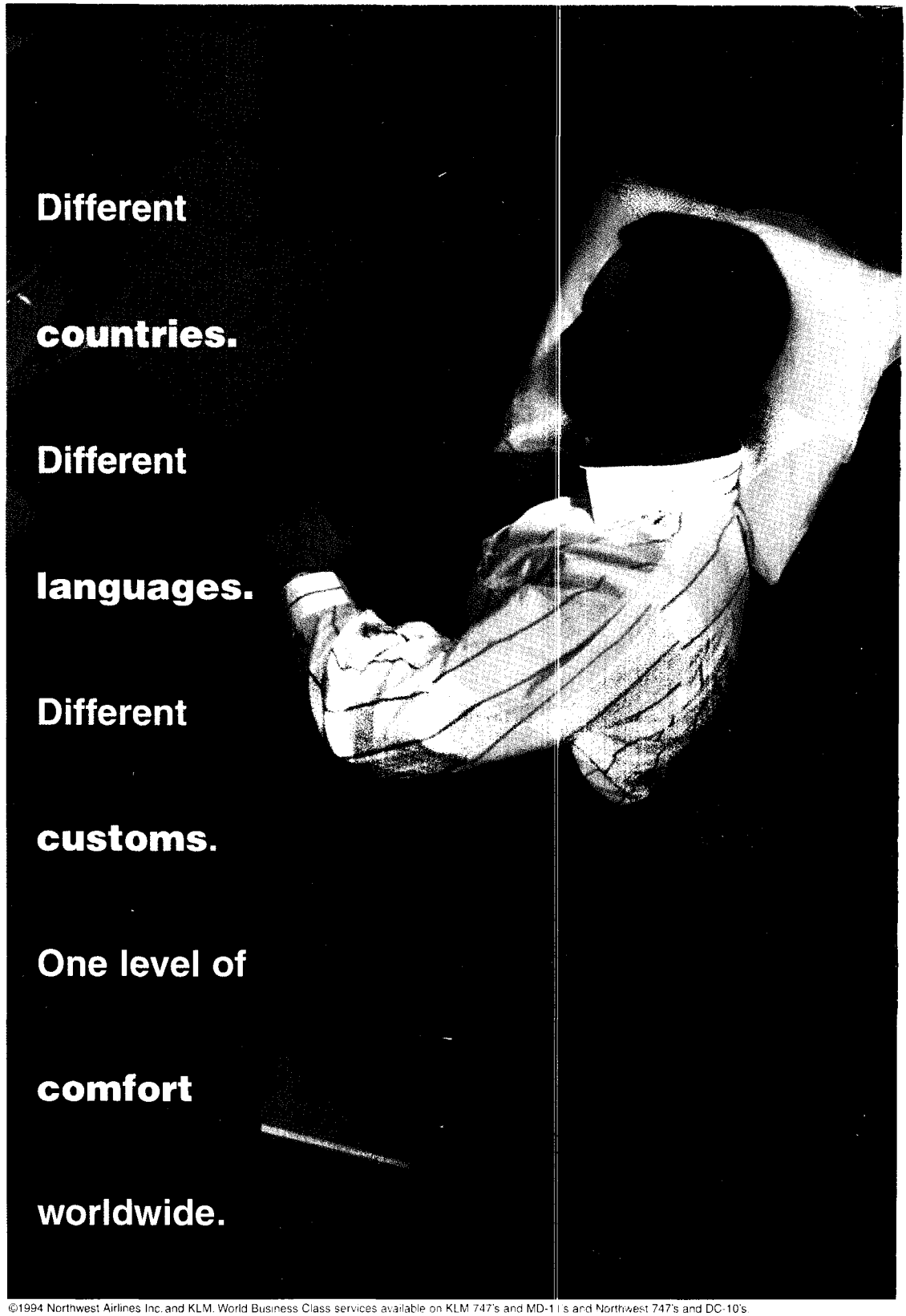

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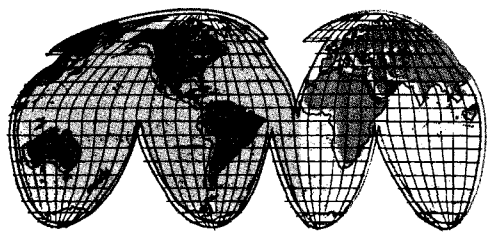

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